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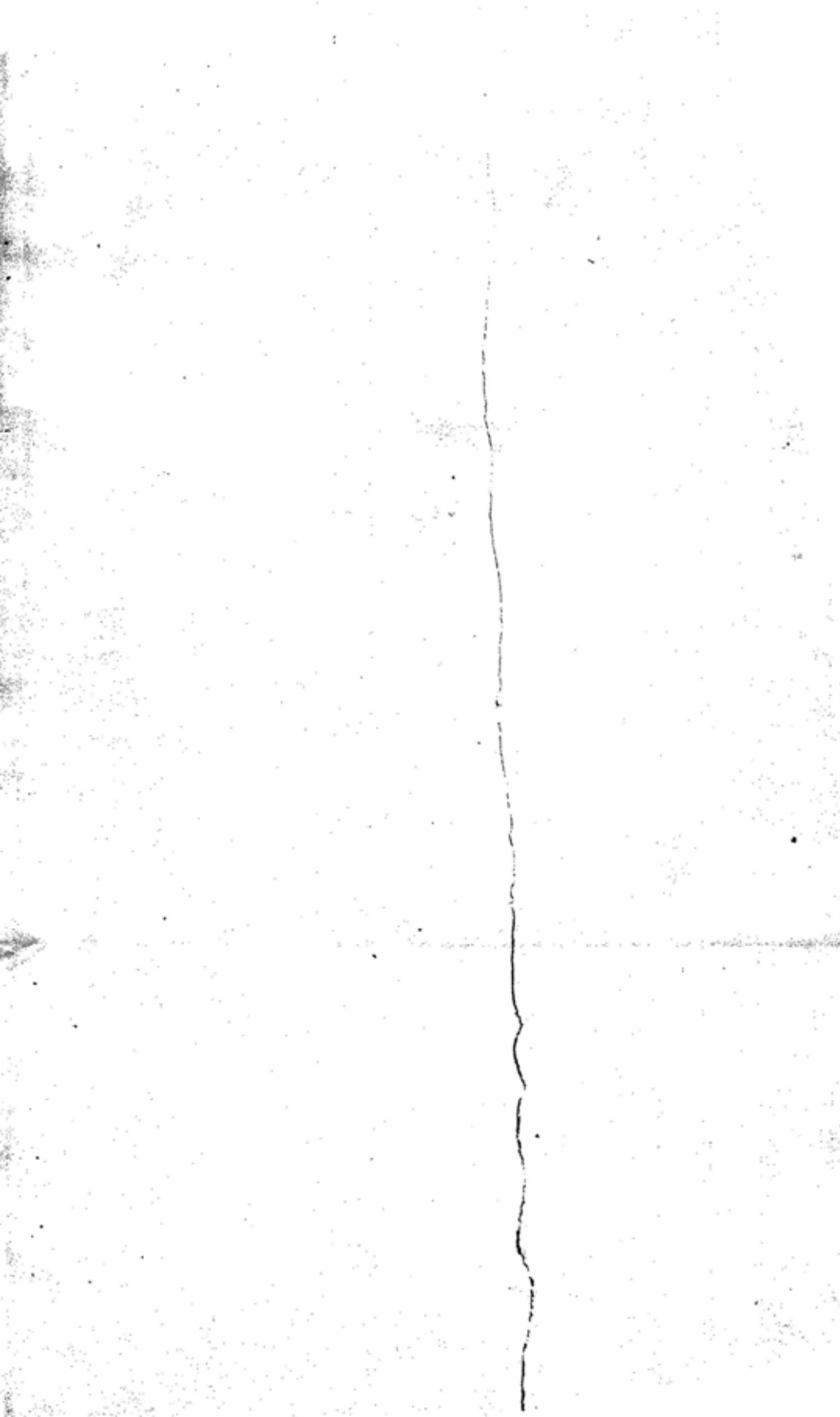
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THE QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF THE MYTHIC SOCIETY

Vol. V

INDEX

31313

A

Agriculture, 21,
Alphabet, Kharoṣṭhi, 13
Annual meeting, fourth, report of, 3
Antiquity, Indian, 12
Aparādhās, 82
Appeal, 91
Architecture, South Indian, 153
Archæology, Mysore, 15, 159
Arāhanarishvara, legend of, 99; ritual, 100;—
festival, 100
Āyurveda, medical industries of India, 97

B

Bail, 83
Bajaura, temple of Mahādeva at, 12
Banishment, 91
Bhārata war, date of, 15; date assigned by the
Indian scholars, 116; western scholars, 116;
astronomical, 118
Betel-vine, growing of, 25
Bhūta-worship in the west-coast 47
Bourbon family, historical account of the Indian
Branch of, 56
Brugi, legend of 99
Bṛhatkathā 164 and seq.; different versions of,
164; Kathāsaritsāgara, 164; the preliminary
task, 164; a great difficulty, 164; Sōmadēva,
as guide, 165; title, 165 divisions, 167; critical,
analysis, 169; Kathāpīṭha, 169; Kathāpīṭha,
169; Kathāmukha, 170; story of Udayana 170;
his birth, 170; marries Vāsavadattā, 170; mar-
ries Padmāvatī, 172; makes Pradyōta his vas-
sal, 173; exploits, 173; Naravāhanadattajana-
na, 175; Caturdārīkā, 176; story of Caktīvēga,
176; Madanamancuka 177; Adventures of
Kalingasēna, 179; taken to wed Udayana, 180;
—Madanavēga weds her in disguise, 180; her

B—cont.

daughter Madanamancuka is to marry Nara-
vāhanadatta, 181; Ratnaprabhā married to
Naravāhanadatta, 184; Naravāhanadatta mar-
ries Karpūrika, 185; story of Sūryaprabhā,
186; Naravāhanadatta marries Alankāravatī,
189; journey of Nārada, etc. to the 'white Island'
191; they witness a Christian worship, 191;
Naravāhanadatta marries Caktiyācas, 193;
marries Jayēndrasēna, 193; his adventure with
Caçānkāvati, 194; Madirāvati, 196; Pauca, 196;
Vēgavatī marries Naravāhanadatta under false
colours, 196; Madanamañcuka kidnapped, 196;
Naravāhanadatta marries Gandhārvadattā,
197; marries Bagirathayācas, 197; marries
Prabhāvatī, 197; marries Sulōcana, 198; be-
comes emperor, 198; defeats Gaurimundā and
Mānasavēga, 199; marries Ihāturatikā 199;
marries Vāyavēgayācas and other four Vidyā-
dhāris, 199; Mahubhīṣaka 200; adventure of
the seven jewels, 200; marries Maudradēvi,
200; coronation, 200; Suratamanjarī, 200;
Padmāvatī, 203; Viṣamaçila, 203; age of
Naravāhanadatta, 203.

Buddha and his sayings, 69,
Buddhist immigrants to Java 106

C

Caste marks of Sri Vaiṣṇavism, 125; their
origin, 129; two principal styles, 131; differ-
ences in style, 132; but no reason for distinc-
tion, 133; colour of the marks, 134; resemb-
lance to the feet of the god 135;—not to be
worn below the waist, 135; manner of daubing
them, 135; their size, 135; material, 136;
mark of the Vāḍagalais, 136.

Chipping the front teeth, 141
Chota Nagpore, description of a rajah, of, 148
Colonies, ancient Hindu, 104
Coorg inscriptions, 159

891.05
Q.J.M.S.

A575

C—cont.

Council for 1914-5, 10

Criminal justice, administration of, 80; definition of a court of justice, 80; its ten requisites, 81; function of the assessors, 82; initiation of the proceedings, 82; chalas, 82; aparādhas, 82; offences concerning the king, 82; securing the accused 83; persons exempted from summons, 83; disobedience to summons, 83; bail 83; representation by counsel, 83; extorting confessions, 84; composition of offences, 84; proof, 84; witnesses, 84; their examination, 84; perjury, 85; ordeals, 85; finding and decision, 88; punishment, 88; probation of first offenders, 90; object of punishments, 90; imprisonment, 90; banishment 91; mutilation 91; appeal and revision, 91; retrial, 92; prevention and detection of crime, 98; rules for the recovery of stolen property, 98; inquests, 93.

D

Dhekura, old kingdom of 74

Differences between the Tenggalaïs and Vaḍagalais, 137.

Domes, Persian, 74.

E

Evolution of religious thought, 126.

F

Fishing, Hunting, Fowling 50

Fowling, 52; different ways of trapping birds, 52

G

Gods of India, 71

H

Hindu polity, ancient studies in, 113

Hunting, 50, 52

I

Imprisonment, 90

Indian publications, 68; Indian epics, 68; Mahābhārata in Tamil, 68; story of Rāmāyana, 69; Buddha and his sayings, 69; Madura Tamil Sangham, 69; study of Sanskrit, 70; Vedānta Sūtras, 70; Vedānta Kesari 70; the gods of India, 71; South Indian Records, 71

Inquests, 93

J

Java, 106; geography, 107; people and language 107; Hindu temples, 108; Inscriptions 109; ancient provinces, 110; ancient kings, 110; Mussulmans in Java, 110

Juangs, 114; their clothing, 146; their way of counting, 146; Juang nautoh, 146

K

Kadirs, 141

Kalingasēnas adventures, 179

Kanishkas casket, 13

Kathāsaritsāgara, 164

Kavuttu valai, 51

Kēthumati, story of, 13

Kharōṣṭhī alphabet, 13

L

Landmarks in South Indian History, 27

Lacchins, 142; their dress, 144; food, 144; way of making fire, 144

La Pay, 143

M

Madanamancuka, 177; kidnapped, 196

Madura Tamil Sangham, 69

Mahābhārata in Tamil, 68

Malay Archipelago, 105

Mallēswar, temple at, 47

Mathura School of Sculpture, 13.

Mārjāra Nyāya, 137

Marka Brahmins, notes on, 53

Markata Nyāya 137

Marks, caste, 126

Mechanics Hindu, ideas on, 69

Mulchers, 140

Muniworship, notes on, 53

Mutilation, 91

Musical scales, Indian, Mnemonic value of, 41

Mysore Archaeology, 15

N

Nāradas journey to the 'White Island', 191

Naravāhanādatta 175, and *seq.*

Nets, fishing, different kinds of, 50

O

Ottu-kacchal, 51

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P

Parikshittu and Kalatti, story of, 18
 Persian Domes, 74
 Plantations, origin of, 22
 Primitive tribes of India, 140; Mulchers 140;
 Kadirs, 141; Laochius, 142; how to travel
 among wild tribes, 142; Juangs, 144

R

Rāmānuja, 129
 Rāmāyana, story of, 69
 Recqds, South Indian, 71
 Retrial, 92

S

Sacred plants in Salem District, 157
 Sacrifices, ancient and modern, 60; Soma sacri-
 fice, 60; animal sacrifice, 62; appointment of
 the priest, 63; sacrificial post, yūpa, 63; divi-
 sion and distribution, 65; why the goat is
 sacrificed, 66
 Salem, different names of, according to the differ-
 ent yugas, 17
 Sanna valai, 51
 Sankara, 128
 Sankaranti festival, 121
 Sanskrit, study of, 70
 Sea-voyage, 111
 Sirpur, ruins of, 12
 Siru valai, 50
 Spice Islands, 104
 Sri-vaishnavism and its caste marks, 125
 Sravanabelgola, Inscriptions at, 15
 Stala-purāṇa, 17
 Stolen-property, discovery of, 93
 Sukraniti, short notice on, 94
 Sukaneshvara temple, legends of, 17
 Summons 83
 Sūryaprabhā, story of, 186

T

Table of Indian musical scales, 44.
 Tamil literature, 27.
 Tantra, principles of, 75
 Taxila, excavations at, 19; treasures found, 20.
 Telescope, figure of, found at Halebid, 16
 Tirumaṣimuttar, legend of the water of, 17
 Tiruchengode, legends on, 99; tirthams of, 101;
 durgam tragedy of, 102
 Tiryak punḍram, 131
 Tobacco cultivation, 23
 Trade with India, 104,

U

Udayana, story of, 170 and seq.
 Unity, fundamental, of India, 155
 Urdva punḍram, 126, 131; authorized by Pāṇch-
 arāstra, Mahābhārata and Brāhmasūtra, 132.

V

Vaishnavism as a separate system, 130
 Vedānta Kēsari, 70
 Vedānta Sūtras 70
 Vendu valai, 50
 Village festival in South India, 161

W

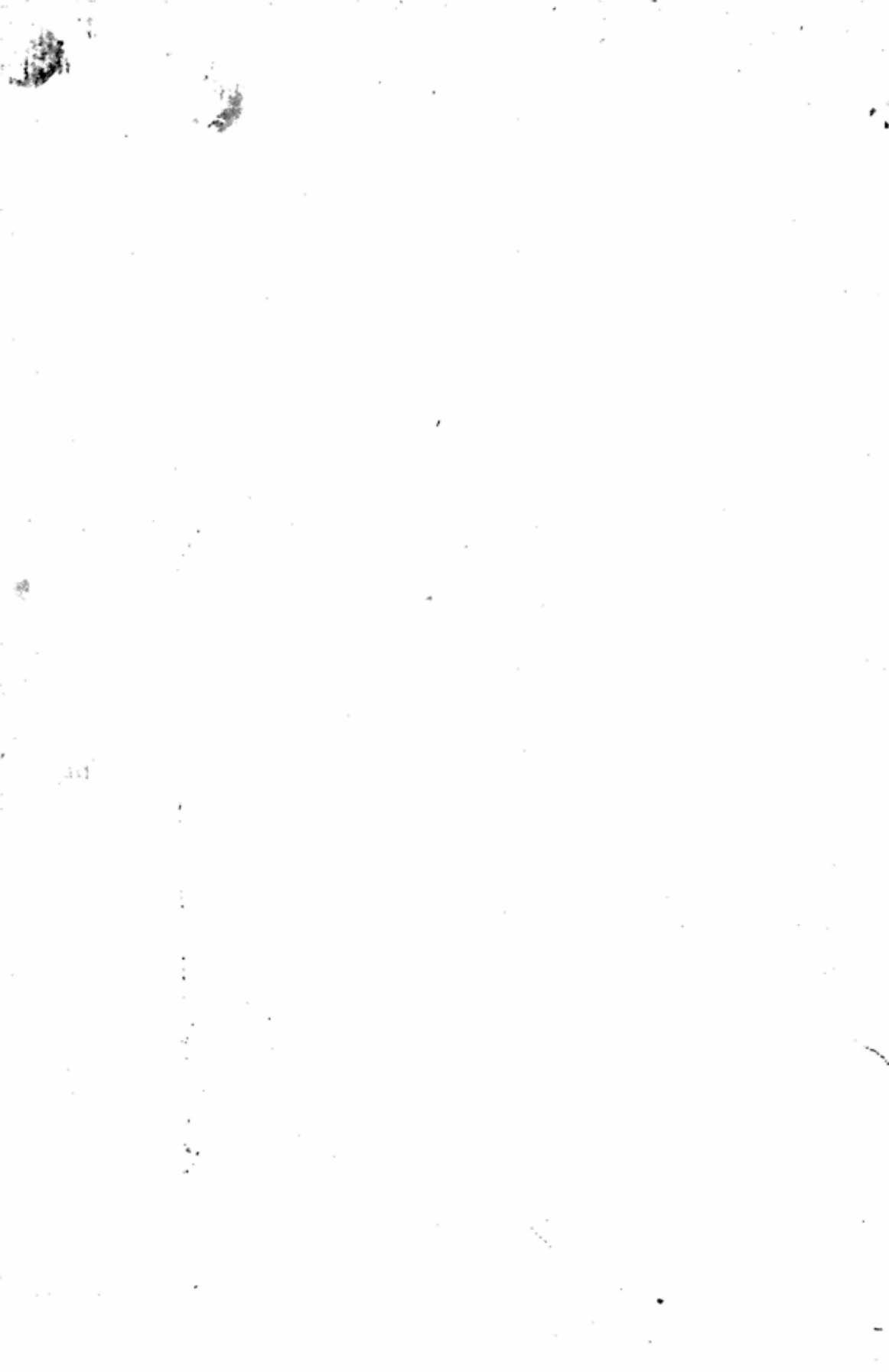
Weights and measures, 54
 Witnesses in criminal procedure, 84.

Y

Yava dvīpa, geography of, 107; people and lan-
 guage, 107
 Yūpa, 63

Z

Zoroastrian period of Indian History, 150



THE MYTHIC SOCIETY

RULES

1. The Society shall be called the MYTHIC SOCIETY.
2. The Society was formed with the object of encouraging the study of the Sciences of Ethnology, History and Religions, in India and stimulating research in these and allied subjects.
3. Membership shall be open to all European and Indian gentlemen, who may be elected by the Committee.
4. The Society shall be managed by a Committee consisting of a President, Vice-Presidents, an Honorary Treasurer, Joint Honorary Secretaries, three Branch Secretaries, an Editor, and five other members, retiring annually but eligible for re-election.
Any four of the above members to form a quorum.
5. The subscription shall be—

- (a) For members resident in Bangalore, rupees five per annum.
- (b) For members resident elsewhere in India, rupees three per annum. These subscriptions are payable on election, or annually, on July 1st. The Honorary Treasurer may recover any subscription which may remain unrecovered at the time the second number of the Journal is issued by sending the second number by V.P.P.

Membership is open to residents in the United Kingdom, the subscriptions being four shillings annually, a remittance of twelve shillings covering subscriptions for three years. Subscriptions from the United Kingdom may be remitted by 'British Postal Order' to the Honorary Treasurer, Mythic Society, Bangalore.

Bona fide students resident in Bangalore will be admitted as members without the right of voting on payment of rupees three per annum.

Ladies may become subscribers on payment of rupees three per annum.

6. The transactions of the Society shall be incorporated and published in a Quarterly Journal which will be sent *free* to all members, and which will be on sale at twelve annas per copy to non-members.
7. There will be nine Ordinary Meetings in each Session, at which lectures will be delivered; due notice being given by the Secretaries.
8. Excursions to places of historical interest will be arranged and intimation thereof given to members.
9. Members may obtain, on application to the Secretaries, invitation cards for the admission of their friends to the lectures.
10. The Annual General Meetings will be held in July.
11. Framing and alteration of Rules rest entirely with the Committee.

F. R. SELL,
Joint Secretary.

THE MYTHIC SOCIETY

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The
Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society

Vol. V.]

[No. 1

THE FOURTH ANNUAL MEETING
OF THE
MYTHIC SOCIETY

HELD IN

***THE CENTRAL COLLEGE HALL, BANGALORE,
ON AUGUST 10, 1914***

The Honourable Colonel Sir Hugh Daly, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., British Resident was in the Chair.

The proceedings commenced with the Chairman calling upon the Secretary of the Society, Mr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, to read the Report for the session ending June, 1914, which was as follows :—

REPORT

THE Mythic Society attains to-day its fifth birthday, and having passed without serious injuries through the ordinary infantile ailments, it stands now before you as a sturdy lad full of life and hope. For this cheerful outlook, the Society is very much indebted to the practical interest Sir Hugh Daly has continuously evinced in its prosperity and also to the munificent liberality of our Patron His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore, and of one of our Honorary Presidents His Highness the Gaikwar of Baroda. Thanks to their princely generosity the Society's financial condition has ceased to be a source of anxiety to your Committee.

Although we have not realized our ambition with regard to the number of members, yet the year under review may be considered satisfactory, as thirty resident and fourteen mofussil members have been elected, a clear proof that the Society is becoming more widely known, and consequently more popular.

We note with the greatest satisfaction that His Highness the Yuvaraja of Mysore, following the example of his illustrious brother His Highness the Maharaja, has become interested in the objects of the Society and has done us the great honour of consenting to be one of the Society's Honorary Presidents.

Thanks to the exertions of Mr. F. J. Richards and Mr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar we have received precious encouragement from several European Universities—Oxford, Cambridge, Halle, Lyons, etc., and distinguished savants and scientists in England, France and Germany have sought admission into the Society.

The number of lectures during this year has been, owing to circumstances beyond our control, smaller than usual, but we trust you all will agree with us that the deficiency in number has been more than made up by the quality of the papers contributed. The unusually large audiences at the meetings have been an eloquent testimony that the subjects of the lectures have proved interesting to members and non-members alike.

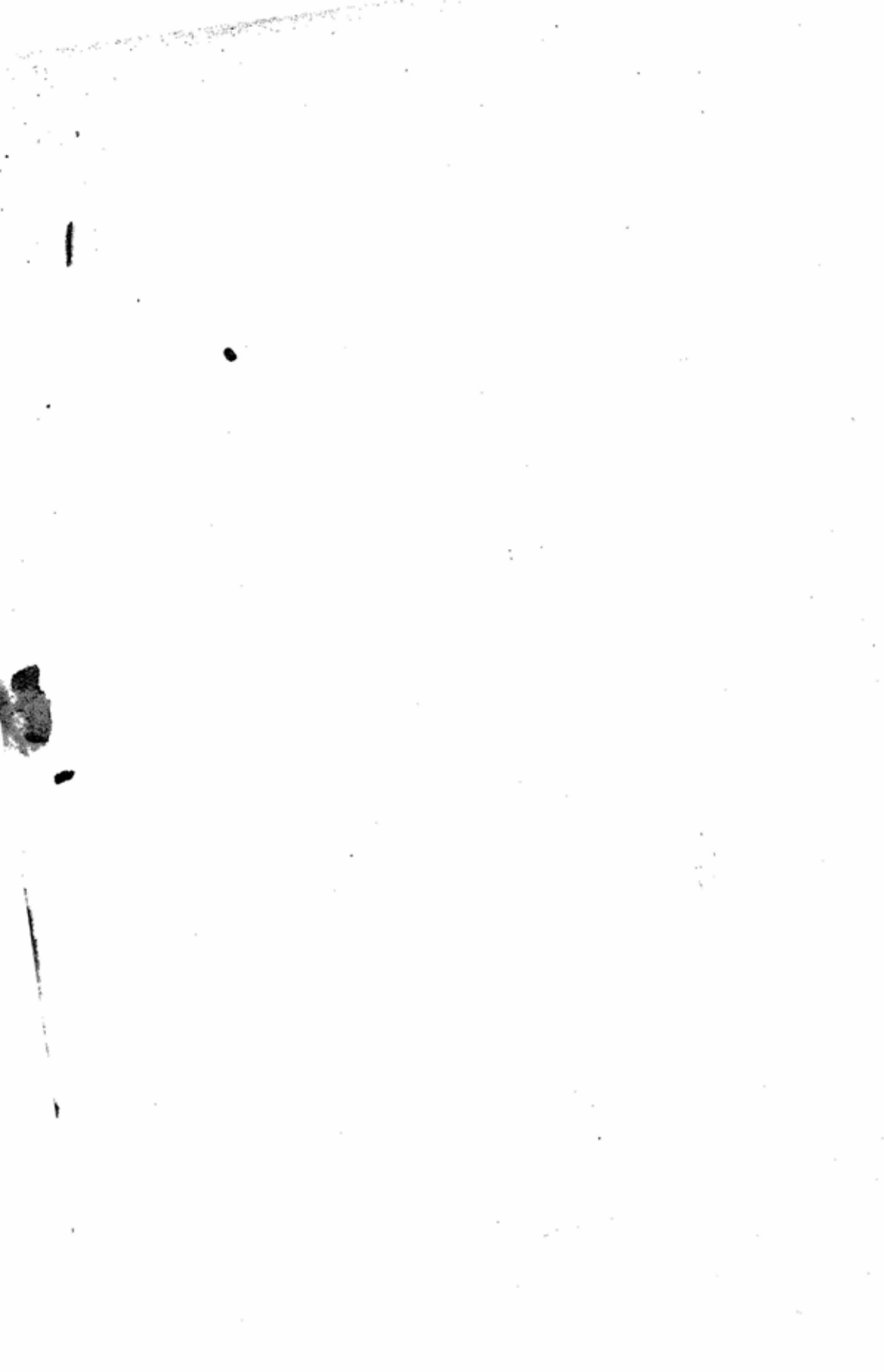
I beg to be permitted to single out the one on 'Buddhist Cave Architecture,' by the Rev. E. W. Thompson, given at the Residency last November, because it affords us an opportunity to thank again Sir Hugh and Lady Daly for having placed their beautiful hall at our disposal and, also to express our gratification at the great honour conferred upon the Society by the presence at the lecture of His Highness the Maharaja, and the other members of the royal family of Mysore.

We have arranged what we believe to be an interesting programme for the coming year, and we have every hope that the honour done us last year by His Highness will be repeated this year.

The Journal seems to have been still more appreciated than heretofore, one of its special features being the translation of Professor Lacôte's Essay on *Gunadya* and the *Brathkatha*. This work, so important in the history of Sanskrit literature, will thus become available to English readers, and already expressions of gratitude for the same have reached us from several quarters.

Mr. F. R. Sell has kindly consented to undertake the translation of 'Social Organisation in Buddhist India,' by Dr. Fick of Berlin, and we feel sure that the members of the Mythic Society will be glad to have made accessible to them the work of that eminent orientalist.

The statements of accounts submitted by the Honorary Treasurer will show that the Society's financial position is as sound as one may wish—



MYTHIC SOCIETY, BANGALORE

From July 1, 1913 to June 30, 1914

RECEIPTS		EXPENDITURE	
	RS A P		RS A P
By opening balance	3 9 8	To Printing charges and stationery	905 9 9
Members subscriptions—		Contingent charges, as rail charges, cooly on Jour- nals, etc.	57 4 0
Resident	605 0 0	Clerks fees	66 0 0
Mofussil	399 0 0	Postage	56 2 6
" Sale of Journals	63 2 0	Balance	2,485 11 5
" Donations from H.H. the Maharaja of Mysore and H.H. the Gackwar of Baroda	2,500 0 0		
TOTAL	3,570 11 8	TOTAL	3,570 11 8

BALANCE STATEMENT

ASSETS		LIABILITIES	
	RS A P		RS A P
Balance of cash with the Treasurer	2,435 11 5	Bill due to S.P.O.K. Press	276 0 0
Subscriptions due	334 8 0	Credit Balance	2,544 3 5
TOTAL	2,820 3 5	TOTAL	2,820 3 5

N.B.—Value of Journals on hand: Vols. I to IV Nos. (1 to 4) each, 3,512 at 4s. 12 each = Rs. 2,634.
Number of Members: Honorary, 13; Resident, 110; Mofussil, 130; Subscribers, 13; Student, 1. Total 267.

LAL BAGH,
Bangalore, August 4, 1914.

G. H. KRUMBIEGEL,
Honorary Treasurer,
MYTHIC SOCIETY.

yet this is no reason why those interested in the welfare of the Society should relax their efforts to add to its membership—as we believe that the objects of the Society cannot be adequately attained without a large number of members.

Before concluding this report I would once more make an earnest appeal to all and ask them to find for us lecturers for our meetings and writers for our *Journal*, as so far, though the ordinary membership is satisfactory, the number of working members is too small to admit of the variety of style and opinions which would enhance the interest of our Quarterly.

Before proposing the adoption of the Report the President of the Society announced amid a storm of applause that His Highness the Yuvaraja of Mysore had graciously been pleased to make a donation of Rs. 1,000 towards the funds of the Society.

The Rev. A. M. Tabard then moved the adoption of the Report in the following terms:—

SIR HUGH DALY AND GENTLEMEN,—

I think you will all agree with me that the Report just read by the Secretary is in every way satisfactory.

Our financial position, thanks to the princely donations of H.H. the Maharaja of Mysore, H.H. the Gaikwar and the one I have just announced from H.H. the Yuvaraja of Mysore is eminently sound and, for a Society like ours, this is a point of prime importance as our activities and usefulness depend a great deal on our finances.

The increase in membership is also encouraging though still very short of our expectations. The working members on the other hand are few but they have done their work well and helped the *Journal* of the Society to maintain its high standard. The question of a habitation and of a library has made some progress and I have been given to understand by the Dewan that an application for a convenient site may receive the sympathetic consideration of the Mysore Durbar.

So we enter on a new year without any misgivings inasmuch as our Secretary has assured us that he has been able to secure a number of interesting papers for the coming session and as we feel certain that the interest shown in the Society by His Highness the Maharaja, His Highness the Yuvaraja and the Honourable the British Resident will continue to spur us on in our work.

The Mythic Society, as you all know, without excluding anything that is Indian, concerns itself more particularly with the south of India. It is Southern India which we wish to study as we believe that in interest, historical, archæological, or otherwise it in no ways yields to the North and by the South we mean the whole of the Dakshina country which extends so

far as to cover the whole of India south of the Vindhya Mountains, the home of the people speaking Telegu, Marathi, Canarese, Tamil, Malayalam, the battlefield in olden times of the Andhras, Gangas, Chalukyas, Rashtrakutas, Cholas, Kadambas, Palavas, Pandyas and Cheras, later on the seat of the mighty Vijayanagar Empire, later on still, the territory studded all over with the strongholds of the Mahrattas, the Polegars and the Naiks and now the largest part of the Madras Presidency with the Nizam's Dominions and the States of Mysore, Travancore and Cochin, the cradle of the Dravidian and Chalukyan styles of architecture, the land which has given birth to the great Indian philosophers and religious reformers.

We agree with an eminent Indian scholar, the late Professor Sundaram Pillai, whom I have much pleasure in quoting.¹ 'The attempt to find the basic element of Hindu civilization by a study of Sanskrit and the history of Sanskrit in Upper India is to begin the problem at its worst and most complicated points; India south of the Vindhyas—the peninsular India—still continues to be India proper. Here the bulk of the people continue distinctly to retain their pre-Aryan features, their pre-Aryan languages, their pre-Aryan social institutions. Even here the process of Aryanization has gone indeed too far to leave it easy for the historian to distinguish the native warp from the foreign woof. But if there is anywhere any chance of such successful disentanglement it is in the south and the further south we go the larger does the chance grow. The scientific historian of India then ought to begin his study with the basins of the Kistna, of the Kaveri, of the Vaigai, rather than with the Gangetic plain, as it has been long, too long the fashion.'

Mr. Vincent Smith in his 'Early History of India' admits himself that when the *ideal* early history of India, including institutions as well as political vicissitudes, comes to be written on a large scale it may be that the hints given by the learned Professor will be acted upon and that the historian will begin with the south. Attention, he adds, has been concentrated too long on the north, on Sanskrit books, and on Indo-Aryan nations; it is time that due regard should be paid to the non-Aryan element.

This applies first to history proper for as Mr. Vincent Smith remarks if 'the most important branch of Indian History is the history of her thought, for the adequate presentation of Indian ideas in the fields of philosophy, religion, science, art and literature, a chronological narrative of the political vicissitudes of the land is the indispensable foundation. Students who may find such a narrative dry or at times even repellent may take comfort in the conviction that its existence renders possible the composition of more attractive disquisitions arranged with due regard to the order of time.' If this be true of Indian history as a whole, it is no less true of the history of

¹ The late Prof. Sundaram Pillai as quoted in *Tamilian Antiquary*, No. 2 (1908), page 4.

the south. A sound framework of dynastic annals must be provided before the story of Indian religion, literature and art in the south can be told aright.

Till lately it was considered almost hopeless to attempt the task and this is the reason why the history of Southern India has been too long considered a sealed book and been dismissed in ordinary manuals with scanty references to the Cholas, Pandyas and Cheras. But during the last twenty-five or thirty years scholars, working in various fields, have disclosed an unexpected wealth of materials for the reconstruction of ancient South Indian history and the time is not far when heroes like the Chalukyan Pulakesins, the Hoysala Vishnu Vardhana, the Chola Rajaraja the Great, and Krishna Raya Deva of Vijayanagar will come into their own and take their rank among the greatest monarchs the world has ever seen.

Those names, like the names of others among the greatest monarchs of Ancient India are at present unfamiliar to the general reader and awaken few echoes in the mind of any save specialists but it is not unreasonable to hope that an orderly presentation of the ascertained facts of ancient Indian history may be of interest to a larger circle than that of professed Orientalists and that as the subject becomes more familiar to the reading public it will be found no less worthy of attention than better known departments of historical study.

What a recent Indian author observes of India applies with greater force still to the south.¹ 'India, he says, suffers to-day in the estimation of the world more through that world's ignorance of the achievements of the heroes of Indian history than through the absence or insignificance of such achievements.'

'Few countries indeed, afford a richer field for archaeological researches than Southern India, and its ancient literatures supply the materials by means of which it is possible to trace the daily life of peoples, their social systems, their religion, their progress in the arts and sciences with a completeness which is unparalleled in antiquity.'

'What is wanted is Southern Indian scholars who will, inspired by this love of the past and guided by Western methods of scholarship for the interpretation and elucidation of these ancient literatures and monuments, interpret that past for the benefit of the present and future generations.'²

So far we have no connected history of Southern India but monographs like those written by our Secretary, Mr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, on 'The History of South India,' 'The Struggle for Empire in South India,' 'The Chola Empire in South India,' 'The Making of Mysore,' 'Vishnuvardhana,' 'Mysore under the Wodeyars,' 'The Value of Literature in the Construction of Indian History,' permit us to hope that some day he may give us that complete and connected history of the South so much desired. 'The Tamils eighteen

¹ C. N. K. Aiyar's *Sri Sankaracharya, His Life and Times*, page iv.
² 'Ancient India' by Professor F. G. Rapson.

hundred years ago', 'Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions' the latter by Mr. Louis Rice are other examples of what can be done in this field of study.

As regards archæology the Mythic Society can but express its satisfaction at the step lately taken by His Highness the Nizam's Government in creating an Archæological Department for the systematic investigation of antiquarian remains in the State. The Deccan proper offers a fertile field for archæological exploration as it abounds in archaic remains of historical importance and artistic beauty, and we hope that Professor Yazdani's discoveries will throw a new light on the history of the Andhra, Chalukya and Yadava dynasties which have played such an important part in the northern portion of what we may call Southern India. The Archæological Departments of the Madras and Mysore Governments have already done wonders for the most southern parts and gathered invaluable documents to help the future historian of the South.

Were I not afraid of taking up too much of your time I might claim for Southern India in almost every other direction the same importance and interest as it has in history. It is in the south that we can study the great religious movements and their architectural remains: Buddhism with its cave temples, Hinduism with its great philosophers and reformers, Jainism at Sravana Belgola, the Lingayat religion professed by millions of Hindus. Without speaking of Rajaputana and if we leave aside the Indo-Saracenic buildings of Bijapur, Agra and Delhi, which are comparatively modern, where shall we find in the north old temples and ruins which can compare with the architecture of the Palavas, Cholas, Pandyas and the Madura Naiks? Will even Sanskrit literature come up to the Tamil works written in the first three centuries A.D., the Augustan Age of Tamil Literature? Can the Hindu races of the North boast, in historical times, of greater achievements than those of the great emperors who in the South conquered Ceylon and Burma? Who will for a moment compare the monotonous scenery of the plains of the Jumna and the Ganges with the varied panorama of the South where almost every hill is crowned with the most picturesque fortresses?

The relations of the South with the Far East and with Europe, the enterprising spirit of the Tamil race with regard to trade and conquest, the administrative genius of the Cholas, the economical principles which enabled mighty kingdoms to live and to flourish, the science of medicine which seems to have coped with disease as successfully as our medical men do now and also the aesthetic culture of Southern India, more especially in the provinces of painting, sculpture and music, are subjects which might well tempt members of our Society whatever may be their taste or bent of mind.

You may call me an enthusiast and object that in our present age of industrialism we have no time to waste on a past which is dead. My reply is that in our commonplace age it does one good to live that past again and to commune with it as that study will help us a great deal to understand

the present better and will be an instructive lesson for the future. As for myself I can say that among the most enjoyable moments of my life have been those that I have spent in exploring old temples and old caves, in climbing up old strongholds and in conjuring up before my imagination that past to which we owe so much and which knows so well how to repay in intellectual enjoyment the hours consumed in its study.

I will then be more than satisfied if these few words fire up in the breasts of my audience to-night some enthusiasm for the study of the history and archæology of Southern India for thus I shall feel that I have done much for the prosperity of the Mythic Society.

I will then conclude with a new appeal to all the members of the Society to take a keener interest in its welfare by enlisting sympathies towards it among their friends and by making it known in the countries of the Andhras, the Hoysalas, the Cholas, the Pandyas and the Cheras, that is from the Vindhya Mountains to Cape Comorin.

With this I have much pleasure in moving that the Report for the year 1913-14 be adopted.

Mr. P. B. Warburton, I.C.S., First Assistant to the Resident, seconded the proposition.

SIR HUGH DALY AND GENTLEMEN,

I fear that any attempt on my part to emulate the admirable speech of our President would involve me in disaster. I will therefore content myself with endorsing what he has said.

There are four main points in the Report which give rise to satisfaction.

The first is that we are financially sound—thanks to the generosity of our Patron and of two of our Honorary Presidents. We open the year with a balance of Rs. 3,800.

The second is that our membership has increased considerably. We have had between 40 and 50 recruits and our total now amounts to 267.

The third is that the fame of our Society has spread abroad and our existence has become a fact recognized in Europe.

The fourth is that we have enlisted the sympathy and support of the Yuvaraja of Mysore. I feel sure that we have acquired what I venture to call a very valuable asset.

In these circumstances I think that we are justified in congratulating ourselves on our present position and, so long as we have Father Tabard and Mr. Krishnasawmy Aiyangar at the helm, we need feel no anxiety for the future.

The proposition being put to the vote was carried unanimously.

The next item on the agenda was the election of the President for the coming session.

Mr. J. G. Tait, M.A., Principal of the Central College, proposed that the Rev. A. M. Tabard be re-elected for another year. Father Tabard had been with Mr. F. J. Richards and Mr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar the mainstay and guide of the Society ever since they set it on foot. No fitter President could be chosen than Father Tabard with the increasing enthusiasm he was well known to have for all matters falling within the purview of the Society and with the ripe experience of management that he now so obviously possessed.

In seconding the proposition Dr. P. S. Achutya Rao, L.M.S., said:—

SIR HUGH DALY AND GENTLEMEN,

I beg leave to second Mr. Tait's proposition. I am sure that I shall be only voicing the opinion of every one of us present here when I say that Father Tabard has, by his erudite, enthusiastic nay absorbing interest in everything connected with the welfare of our Society, his manysided activities, his suave and engaging manners, his tactful and at the same time efficient management of the affairs of the Mythic Society, so endeared himself to us all that it is not possible for us to hit upon a better and more suitable President.

As Mr. Warburton has just now remarked, with Father Tabard as our President and Mr. Krishnaswami Iyengar as our Secretary we shall have every reason to hope that the Mythic Society will continue to prosper and gain renown.

With these remarks I heartily second the proposition.

The proposition was carried by acclamation.

The Rev. Father Tabard in a few words expressed his heartiest thanks to Mr. Tait and Dr. Achutya Rao for their very kind reference to him and to all the members present for the enthusiastic way they had received the proposal that he should be re-elected President.

In accepting the honour he could assure them that he would spare no efforts to make the ensuing session as successful as the previous ones.

He then begged leave to propose the following gentlemen as members of the Council for 1914-15.

Patron

His Highness The Maharajah of Mysore, G.C.S.I.

Honorary Presidents

The Honble. Mr. S. M. Fraser, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S.	His Highness The Gaikwar of Baroda, G.C.S.I.,
The Honble. Col. Sir Hugh Daly, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.	G.C.I.E.
His Highness The Yuvaraja of Mysore, K.C.I.E.	

Honorary Vice-Presidents

V. P. Madhava Rao, Esq., B.A., C.I.E.	Brigadier-General R. Wapshare, I.A.
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President

Rev. A. M. Tabard, M.A., M.B.A.S.

Vice-Presidents

P. B. Warburton, Esq., I.C.S.

Sirdar M. Kantaraj Urs, Esq. C.S.I., B.A.

Justice Sir Leslie Miller, Kt., I.C.S.

Rao Bahadur M. Shama Rao, Esq. M.A.

Editor

S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, Esq., M.A., M.B.A.S., F.R.HIST.S., F.M.U.

Honorary Treasurer

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F. J. Richards, Esq., M.A., M.B.A.S., I.C.S.

C. S. Balasundaram Iyer, Esq., B.A., M.B.A.S.

F. R. Sell, Esq., M.A.

Branch-Secretaries

For Ethnology, Rev. F. Goodwill*For History*, A. V. Ramanathan, Esq., B.A.*For Religions*, Rev. A. R. Fuller, B.A.

Committee

The above ex-officio, and

Dr. P. S. Achyuta Rao

P. S. Sampat Aiyangar, Esq. M.A.

R. Narasimhachar, Esq., M.A., M.B.A.S.

E. P. Metcalfe, Esq., B.Sc.

A. E. Bull, Esq.

K. Chandy, Esq., B.A.

The Honourable the Resident rose amid loud applause and spoke to the following effect:—

He said that they had all listened with the greatest interest to Father Tabard's Presidential Address and that he for one thought that in spite of the onslaught made on the North by the Rev. President yet a good case had been made out for the South. He hoped that South Indian gentlemen would fall in with Father Tabard's suggestions and do their utmost to convince the world that this part of India is well worth studying.

He was very much gratified in seeing the keen interest the Royal House of Mysore were taking in the welfare of the Mythic Society and this, together with the satisfactory working of the Society during the five years of its existence, made him feel sure that it would continue to prosper and do useful work.

Mr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar proposed a vote of thanks to the Honble. Colonel Sir Hugh Daly for having kindly consented to preside that evening. The proposal duly seconded by the Rev. F. Goodwill was received with acclamation. This brought a most interesting and successful function to a close.

N.B.—We may add for the information of would-be members that applications for membership may be addressed to any member of the Committee.

The subscription for resident members is Rs. 5 and for mofussil members, Rs. 3 per annum.

INDIAN ANTIQUITY

THE Archæological Survey of India is still behind-hand with the publication of its Annual, for the volume recently issued deals only with 1909-10. But, though belated, in point of its historical and artistic contents it is the most interesting of the annuals recently published. There are many valuable contributions to its pages from officers who have carried out prolonged explorations into some of the most historic and ancient sites associated with the early history of India, notably of the Buddhistic period. Mr. A. H. Longhurst, now in charge of the Archæological Survey of the Southern Circle, has a very informing article on 'Ancient brick temples in the Central Provinces,' found among the remains of an ancient city (Sirpur) of considerable size, now mostly hidden by dense forest. The remains consist 'generally of mounds of decayed brick, often containing stone-pillars and sculptures of a very early period. The only building now standing that may be said to form anything like a complete structure, retaining in their original places the stone sculptures, pillars and carved brick surfaces of former days, is the brick temple of Lakshmana.' The article is illustrated by several well executed plates which reveal delicate ornamentation carved on the brick work, the carved lines being sharp and clearly defined, despite the lapse of many centuries since their original execution. The average size of the bricks used in the construction is 17 ins. long, 9 ins. wide and nearly 3 ins. thick. Among the decorative works in the temple are the delicate lotus leaf mouldings and slender pilasters with plain pot-and-foilage capitals of the windows, remains which are similar in design to the mouldings on many door-frames at the Ajanta and Ellora Caves. The date of the temple has not been ascertained, but, on purely architectural grounds, Mr. Longhurst assigns it to the seventh or eighth century A.D. There are other brick temples not far from Sirpur believed to have been built mainly with the ornamental stone material taken from the ruins at Sirpur, and these also are characterized by beautiful sculptures. The ancient site of Sirpur, in Mr. Longhurst's opinion, would well repay a detailed survey. We hope, with Mr. Longhurst, that the numerous brick mounds in that area will be excavated, as it is anticipated that many valuable sculptures and perhaps inscriptions may be recovered, leading to the solution of obscure questions of chronology.

Dr. Vogel's article on 'The Temple of Mahadeva at Bajaura' one of 'the most ancient and finest shrines' in the Kulu Valley, gives an account

of great architectural interest, and shows that temple towers of the Bajaura type, built entirely of stone, are as rare in the hills as they are common in the plains. The ornamental carvings and sculptural decorations relate to Hindu mythology, notable among them being the representation of Mahishasura Mardhani, the famous exploit of Durga in destroying 'the buffalo demon.' The work is in bas-relief, and all details of the scene hewn in stone are said to be in perfect agreement with the description in the sacred books, of the deeds of the demon-slaying goddess. The two female figures carved on slabs found on both sides of the entrance porch of this temple are said to personify the sacred rivers, the Ganges and the Jumna, which are regularly represented in ancient temples all over Northern India. On the right door jamb there is a curious inscription recording the gift of land to the temple by Rajah Syama Sena who 'went to heaven with five queens, two concubines and thirty-seven slave girls.' We have an account of very absorbing interest of the excavations at Sahribahlol, in the Frontier Circle, which appears to have been a most important centre of the Buddhist cult, as evidenced by the immense wealth of sculpture relating to early times of Buddhistic activities. Of the sculptural finds Mr. Spooner says that 'it may be safely affirmed that in their variety, their extent and their relatively good state of preservation, they constitute an important addition to our material for the study of the Mid-Gandhara period.' Here again scenes of the early life of Buddha as recorded in the Jataka stories are carved in a series of bas-reliefs, vivid illustrations of which in the form of photographs are embodied in the article. The paper is a notable contribution in many ways to the artistic history of India in very early days.

Equally interesting and informing is the contribution on 'The Mathura School of Sculpture,' which bears numerous traces of the influence of the Græco-Buddhistic sculpture of the school of Gandhara, even though they have many characteristic features of their own. The examples of this school brought to light are believed to belong to the Kushana period, about the first century before the Christian era, and they are also sermons in stones of Buddha and his disciples. Dr. Vogel, who is the author of the article, finds in recent discoveries corroboration for the view that the flourishing period of the Mathura sculpture coincided with the reign of Kanishka, Huviska and Vasudeva, among the earliest of the Kushana rulers. The account of the excavations at Mandar, in Rajputana, and at Mirpur Khas, in Sindh, are records of successful exploration work, and the reconstruction of certain periods of ancient Indian history has been considerably facilitated by the discoveries on these historic sites. Another valuable contribution which will be read by antiquarians with great interest is that which gives an account of the Kanishka casket and the inscriptions thereon in the Kharoshti alphabet, the discovery of which, in March, 1909, created a great sensation in archaeological circles both in India and Europe. The casket contained some Buddha

relics which Lord Minto handed over to the Buddhists of Burma for safe custody. Of special interest to Southern India are the articles on 'The Hoya-salas in the Chola country' by Mr. H. Krishna Sastriar and the late Rai Bahadur V. Venkiah's survey of the progress of Epigraphy in the period covered by the Report. The Annual is got up sumptuously and fully maintains the high standard it has attained under Dr. Marshall's editorship.

MYSORE ARCHÆOLOGY

THE Archæological Superintendent of Mysore devoted a great portion of his field work during the last official year to the resurvey of some of the ground already covered by Mr. Rice in the early years of the Department. He spent some time in Sravanabelagola, re-examining old inscriptions for the purpose of re-editing the volume of *Epigraphia Carnatica*, relating to this historic antiquarian tract. He also inspected scores of interesting temples in the Yedatore, Hunsur, Heggaddevankota and Gundalpet taluks of the Mysore District, and has contributed much to the elucidation of temple architecture in mediæval and ancient times, and to the science of iconography, for the study of which the country he traversed this year offers abundant and valuable materials. These temples appear to have owed their origin to rulers of many dynasties who brought the modern Mysore country under their sway and held rule for several centuries. As the inscriptions show, the rulers appear to have vied with each other in building and endowing beautiful temples dedicated to their favourite deities. In many a temple are to be found statues and statuettes of the donors and their consorts, while an interesting feature of some of the buildings is the miniature figures of the sculptor or sculptors who were employed in beautifying them. A large number of these temples belong to the Jainas, who were a great community in the Mysore and South Canara country for many centuries, and contributed in no small degree to the civilization and literary greatness of those times. Mr. R. A. Narasimhachar, the Archæological Research Officer, has carried out his work with great enthusiasm, and has unearthed interesting material throwing fresh light on many an obscure page of forgotten history. Followers of the Sri Vaishnava persuasion will find much that is of interest in the Report on the work and peregrinations of Ramanujacharya, the Hindu protestant reformer of the thirteenth century, who preached the gospel of salvation to all sorts and conditions of men, not excluding the despised depressed classes. Notwithstanding the care bestowed by the Mysore Durbar on the preservation of these ancient monuments, the disruptive forces of time and weather and the hands of vandals are ever busy in bringing about the decay of these fine specimens of architecture and sculpture, and the Durbar would do well to have the exterior and interior of the more important of the buildings photographed, so that at least a pictorial record of their workmanship would be made available to modern artists.

About seventy new inscriptions were discovered during the year at Sravanabelagola. Some of these records go back to the ninth and tenth

centuries, and even earlier, and throw light on Jaina settlements of that period. Other records, copied during the year, add to our knowledge of the Kongalvas and the Hoysalas, and of some feudatory chiefs who ruled over Hole-Narsapur. Certain of the new discoveries at Sravanabelagola are records of visits of distinguished personages to this ancient centre of Jaina culture and civilization. Some of these date back to the eighth century and record only the titles of visitors while some others add descriptive epithets. Those visitors included religious reformers, poets, kings, generals and ascetics. Sravanabelagola was a place of considerable sanctity even in early times which high personages of the Jaina persuasion deemed it a religious duty to visit at least once in their life-time. An inscription of the ninth century, of the time of Rajamalla II, records the grant of the tax on ghee to the Mahajans of a certain village in the Hole-Narsapur Taluq. A large number of the epigraphs copied during the year are records of *viragals*, or memorial stones, set up in commemoration of the personal bravery and loyal devotion of warriors and patriots to their rulers and to their country. Most of these lost their lives in defending their villages against raids by aggressive neighbours. New names of rulers are mentioned in fresh Kadamba and Kongalva records ranging from about the tenth to the thirteenth century. No great addition was made to the records of Cholas and Hoysalas during the year, though a few interesting details are furnished by some in regard to Jaina reformers and to the activities of Ramanuja and his disciples. A Hoysala-inscription of the thirteenth century records the grant of a village to certain temples for the maintenance of the requisite establishment to conduct the services therein. The village was divided into forty *vrittis*, or service holdings, groups of them being made responsible for the supply of offerings of rice to the gods and provisions to the temple servants. The supplies included cart loads of fuel, rice, curd, milk, butter, and special allotments are made for the annual festivals, one of which was known as the 'illumination festival.' The tariff of emoluments to temple *pujaris*, sweepers, water-carriers, gardeners, cooks, cleaners of vessels and cowherds, throws interesting light on the customary emoluments and wages obtaining during that period.

Research work in Mysore in this field is being followed with keen interest by antiquarians in the West, who are encouraging Mr. Narasimhachar in his zealous work. He has been specially asked to pursue his enquiries into Sanskrit literature for any earlier reference to the telescope a figure of which has been found in a frieze on the outer walls of a temple at Halebid dating from about the twelfth century. Mr. Narasimhachar's Report is illustrated with excellent photographs of the most interesting specimens of temple sculpture and architecture and iconography, and these cannot fail to attract the attention of specialists engaged in the reconstruction of the science and art of Hindu iconography.

STĀLA PURĀNA

A SURVEY of the *Stāla Purāna*, or local legends, of South Indian temples would be of no trifling interest to the student of comparative folk-lore, and would yield important scientific, and perhaps historical, results. In the hope that this subject will be taken up in earnest by the Mythic Society, I submit a brief summary of some legends of the Sukavanesvara Temple (Siva) of Salem, a temple which dates back possibly to the ninth century A.D., if not to an earlier date.¹

According to the *Stāla Purāna*, City, River and Deity changed their name with each Yuga. In the Krētā-Yuga Salem was called Pāpanāsattalam (Place of Absolution), Siva was worshipped there as Pāpanāsēswara, and the River was Pāpanāsa-nadhi. In the Trētā-Yuga the city was called Dhēnu-Nagaram, the shrine was frequented by Kāma-Dhēnu, the Celestial Cow, the presiding deity Kāmēswara and the river Dhēnu Tīrtam. In the Dwāpara-Yuga the shrine was visited by Adisēsha, the Serpent King, and the god was called Nāgēswara, and the town Nāgēsuraṃ or Chatur-Vēda-mangalam² (City of the Four Vēdas). Each of these Yugas has its own peculiar legend. In the Kālī-Yuga a certain Rishi, son of Vyāsa, incurred the displeasure of Brahma, who ordained that he should assume the form of a parrot. The Rishi thus became king of the parrots, and worshipped at the Salem Temple, gathering fruits and grain from neighbouring fields, and bearing them to the shrine. The ryots objected to the depredations of the parrot king and his parrot friends, and attacked them with slings and arrows. The king parrot took refuge beside the *lingam* in the shrine, but he was pursued and slain. The fatal blow drew blood from the *lingam*, seeing which the slayer committed suicide. The Rishi, rid of his parrot body, resumed his natural human form, and, in memory of the event, the presiding deity is named Sukavanēswara or 'Lord of the Parrots' Forest.'

The potent sanctity of the water of the Tiru-mani-muttār is the subject of many a local legend. One story relates how Saravathi, the beautiful wife of Sārathi, a learned Brahman, fell in love with a fisherman and yielded herself to his embraces. The angry husband, detecting the intrigue, discarded her and married another. Saravathi was outcasted, her lover tired of her, and she was driven from her home a wandering beggar. She joined a band of

¹ See the Chola and Pandya Inscriptions, Nos. 44-51, of the Government Epigraphist's Report for 1887, G.O., No. 424, Public, dated April 20, 1888.

² The Chola Inscriptions refer to the god as Kilivannam-udaiyar, 'the parrot-coloured lord, and the Pandya inscriptions (probably of Sundara-Pandya-Deva II, 1275-1302), give Rajasraya-chaturvedi-mangalam as an alternative name for Salem.

pilgrims travelling to Pāpanāsattalam (Salem), but on the way was murdered by dacoits. Her astral body was carried off to hell by Yama's factotum, Cittira-kuttan, and her carcass became the food of vultures and jackals. Luckily a dog ran off with one of her bones, and happened to drop it into the Salem river. Immediately this happened the god Rudra absolved her of her sins, and ordered her release from hell, and in spite of Yama's remonstrances she was translated to Kailāsa.

In the days of the good king Mannu there lived in the royal city of Magadha, a virtuous Brahman widow named Kēthumathi and her little son. Her husband had died when the lad was three years of age, and his dying request was that Kēthumathi, for the child's sake, should not immolate herself on his funeral pyre. One night a thief broke into the inner sanctum of the king, and stole a costly casket of jewels. He was pursued, and in his flight he threw the casket into the pail of Kēthumathi's house. There it was found by the king's watchmen, and Kēthumathi was haled away to prison, and brought before the king. The king sentenced her to banishment, and the unhappy woman with her little child was driven into the jungles, where she lived on roots and berries. One day, when the king went a hunting in the forest, he mistook the moving figure of Kēthumathi for some wild animal, aimed an arrow at her, and pierced the heart of her child. With a loud cry the mother fell prostrate on the body of the dead child and wept bitterly, and the king realized that he had committed homicide. A holy sage, who was passing by, heard the sound of wailing, came to the spot where the king and the widow were, and learnt the pitiful story. He explained to them that their misfortunes were the reward of sins committed in a former existence, and bade them go to the river-side shrine at Salem. This they did; the king obtained absolution by bathing in the Amandūga-Tīrtam (which was named thereafter Manu-sarana-tīrtam) and Kēthumathi's child was restored to life.

A third story concerns two wealthy and pious merchants, Parikshittu and Kālatti, close friends whose leisure was devoted to the cultivation of a flower-garden for the gods. One day they espied a cow grazing in the garden. They drove it out, and it was at once seized by a tiger and killed. The two friends were in terror and despair, because they had unwittingly incurred the guilt of cow-killing. Kālatti kindled a pyre and flung himself into the flames. As Parikshittu stood weeping, by a sage came to him and asked him the cause of his sorrow, and learning the truth, advised him to gather the ashes of his friend into an earthen vessel and carry them to Salem. The sage and the mourner journeyed together to that holy place, and bathed in the Tiru-mani-muttār, and the sage prayed for a sign. As soon as the prayer was ended, the vessel of bones burst open, and Kālatti came forth alive and well. Both he and Parikshittu were absolved from their guilt, and lived happily ever after.

EXCAVATIONS AT TAXILA

DR. MARSHALL'S WORK

FACTS of a fascinating interest were disclosed in Dr. Marshall's lecture before the Punjab Historical Society on his recent excavations at Taxila, the ancient capital of the Greek and Persian conquerors of Northern India. Not only has Dr. Marshall unearthed a whole quantity of priceless jewellery and carving dating back to Greek and Persian times and traced remains of fire worshipping and Greek temples besides other interesting buildings, but he has discovered (1) the foundations of a tower with Assyrian characteristics comparable to those of the Biblical 'Tower of Babel' and (2) relics which claim to be some of the veritable ashes of Buddha, the testimony in this case being at least as authentic as that on which some small fragments of incinerated bone found near Peshawar some years ago were accepted as belonging to this same saint. The Buddha relics were found in a small gold casket inside a silver vase in an earthenware vessel buried beneath a Bodhisattva image in one of the stupas. Along with the ashes was a silver scroll, which when deciphered and translated with infinite learning and labour has disclosed the following statement 'In the year 136 of Azes on the 15th day of the month of Ashadha on this day the relics of the Holy One (Buddha) were enshrined by Dhurasakes, the son of Dhitastria, a resident at the town of Noacha. By him these relics of the Holy One were enshrined in the Bodhisattva Chapel at Tanua in Taxila of the holy realm for the bestowal of perfect health upon the great King of Kings, the divine Kushana, for the veneration of all Buddhas, for the veneration of individual Buddhas, for the veneration of the saints, for the veneration of all sentient beings, for the veneration of his parents, for the veneration of his friends, advisers, kinsmen and associates and for the bestowal of perfect health upon himself. May the gift be for attainment of Nirvana.'

The Babel like tower is supposed to have stood not so very distant from a palace of Parthian date which Dr. Marshall finds to have been an almost exact counterpart of the Assyrian palaces of Mesopotamia. It overlooked a temple with Greek characteristics and that it was of solid structure is shown by the fact that its foundations were actually sunk to the great depth of thirty-two feet. The tower rose, Dr. Marshall thinks, above the roof of the temple and access to its summit was provided by flights of broad steps of

which two still exist, laid parallel to its sides. He concludes that it was a sort of *zikurrat* tapering like a pyramid and with a stairway ascending along the sides and an open platform on the top on which an altar may have been erected like the great *zikurrats* of Mesopotamia, of which he considers the Tower of Babel to have been one.

Amongst the smaller treasures discovered by Dr. Marshall at Taxila is a most beautifully carved head of the Greek god, Dionysus, of silver *repousse* some three inches across, which was mounted upon a silver table stand similar to that of the statue of Hercules, which Alexander the Great is said to have kept with him on his campaign. A delicious bronze statuette of a child, a few inches high, of Hellenistic workmanship, a finger ring with a lapis-lazuli intaglio representing a Greek warrior and engraved with an early Brahmi legend are among the finds, also elaborate gold earrings, gold pendants, gold chains and gold bracelets. Dr. Marshall assigns the bronze statuette to the middle of the first century B.C. and the lapis-lazuli ring and head of Dionysus which he considers the finest example of Greek work yet discovered in India to a century earlier. Under the floor of another room he found an earthenware jar which proved to contain a small figure of the winged Aphrodite executed in gold *repousse*, a gold medal lion bearing the figure of a Cupid, a gold necklace, a number of jacinths cut *en cabuchon* and engraved with figures of Artemis, Cupid, etc., and most important of all a series of silver coins of the Parthian epoch belonging to kings, who have not previously been known. Among other articles also recovered were a small iron trolley running on four wheels, perhaps a Parthian's go-cart or perambulator, a handsome copper jug with lid and handle and some copper spoons and forks, a small Corinthian column exquisitely modelled in fine terracotta, some chalcedony and copper seals engraved with various devices and a number of stone vessels and dishes carved with different designs.

The lecturer closed his remarks with an expression of his indebtedness to the Punjab Government and particularly to Mr. Renouf, the Deputy Commissioner of Rawalpindi, and Colonel Maclagan for the readiness with which they had assisted all his plans and the practical help which they had given in many difficulties.—*Madras Mail*.

SOME NOTES ON THE CULTIVATION OF TOBACCO AND BETEL-VINE IN SALEM DISTRICT

THE crops grown by the various races of mankind are of no small ethnographic interest. Agriculture is most easily undertaken in tropical lands; and it is probably in the tropics that the arts of husbandry had their first origin. In desert countries, and regions that are subject to periodic drought, agriculture can only flourish by the aid of irrigation. In temperate latitudes sunshine is not plentiful, and the natural fertility of the soil is less, and hence in such areas agriculture can only be carried on by improving on the methods and implements that suffice for the more favourably situated lands of the tropics.

Agriculture is an art of extreme antiquity, and dates back to the Neolithic age. 'In the remains of the ancient lake-dwellings of Switzerland grains of wheat and barley have been found, in some cases made into a sort of unleavened cake. Fruits like the apple and pear are also found, sometimes cut in half and dried for winter use. Shreds of woven flax are also found together with stone implements of a very early type.'¹

It is probable that agriculture began with the cultivation of food plants from shoots and that cultivation from seeds, which requires much more labour, ingenuity and foresight is a later development. The tropics offer a great variety of plants which are easily grown from shoots, the most important being the plantain and the manioc. The principal food plants grown from seed are, in the tropics, maize (North America), millet (Africa and India), and rice (Maritime Asia), in temperate latitudes, wheat, barley, rye, oats, and also maize. In temperate countries where rain is fairly evenly distributed the potato is the most suitable crop. In temperate regions of summer rains are the great wheat-lands of the world, in temperate regions of winter rains, cereals are grown as a winter crop and usually require irrigation, and fruits such as the vine, olive, fig, orange, lemon, peach, apricot, pomegranate, come to perfection.

¹ See Professor A. J. Herbertson's, *Man and his Work*, p. 71.

In its earliest stages the cultivation of plants must have been of very minor importance in supplementing the food supply yielded by hunting and fishing, and was probably carried on exclusively by the women-folk. The more primitive the husbandry, the more it is left to the women and scorned by the men; as the art of agriculture advances and the nomadic habit declines, the men take a larger share in the field work.

Perhaps branches and shoots thrust into the ground as the framework or walls of primitive huts or as a rude fencing may have sprouted and suggested the earliest plantations, or the seeds of wild grasses gathered in the jungle and brought to the camping ground may have suggested the beginnings of husbandry. The arts of primitive man begin by imitating nature and progress by improving on her.

Race borrows from race, not only the plant species which it cultivates, but also the methods and implements of agriculture that it employs. Hence the comparative study of agriculture may afford valuable evidence on that influence of race on race which we call 'culture contact', whether direct or indirect. The *manvetti* or 'hoe-spade' of South India is very similar in type to that used by the ancient Egyptians, and is utterly different from the spade of Western Europe; the similarity of type may or may not be due to culture contact; the difference in type obviously suggests racial distinction. The seed-drill (*gorru*), the weeding-plough (*guntaka*), and the hand-weeding implement (*dōkadu-pāra*) are distinctive of Telugu and Kanarese agriculture, and are not in general use in the Tamil country. The use or avoidance of night-soil as a manure is of important ethnological significance among Dravidian agricultural castes; the chief Tamil castes prohibit it, but many of the Kanarese Vakkiligas regard it as one of the most valuable aids to agriculture. Some crops, such as wheat or plantains, are, subject of course to favourable climatic conditions, almost world-wide in their distribution. Others, such as pepper and betel, are local and specialized, and in some areas their cultivation is, like a trade-secret, restricted to a few communities whose skill is transmitted from father to son. Maize and potatoes are familiar in South India, but it must not be forgotten that they are indigenous to North America. Cotton and plantains are staple crops in the New World, but they have been imported thither from Maritime Asia.

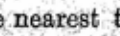
It is important to determine whether the plants, tools and methods in vogue in any particular community are indigenous or imported, and if imported, how and whence they came. One of the most astonishing sequels to the discovery of America was the spread of tobacco cultivation throughout the Old World. How and whence the Tamil ryot derived his skill in the cultivation and curing of tobacco, whether he borrowed his methods or evolved them himself, is an interesting problem which can only be solved by a comparative study of his methods with those in

vogue elsewhere. The cultivation of the betel vine is, I believe, peculiar to India, Indonesia, and Eastern Asia; it would be interesting to discover whether its eastern spread is part of that eastward movement of racial and cultural influences which has left so deep an impression on the culture of Indonesia and Further India. The notes subjoined deal with the methods of tobacco and betel cultivation in Salem District.

TOBACCO CULTIVATION

Rain-fed tobacco is considered greatly superior in quality to that grown under irrigation, though the outturn is less and the labour involved greater. The following methods are employed in the cultivation of rain-fed tobacco in the Swēta-nadhi Valley of Attūr taluk, Salem District.

When the land has been sufficiently ploughed, it is divided into rectangular plots (*pātti*), each plot being traversed by four trenches. The ploughing and preparation of the soil occupies about one-and-a-half months, till the middle of February.

Meanwhile, early in January, the seeds are sown two inches apart and one inch deep, in richly manured seed-beds, watered every other day, and protected from the sun by the leaves of the cocoanut or palmyra palm, or by twigs of milk-hedge, *pungam* or *āvāram*. The seed-beds must be kept very clean of weeds and should be weeded once or even twice a week. After fifteen days have elapsed from the date of sowing protection from the sun becomes unnecessary, and it is enough if the seedlings are watered once every three or four days. About forty or forty-five days after sowing the seedlings are ready to be transplanted, and they are transferred to the furrows prepared for them; transplanting usually takes place in the evening; six or seven plants are put into each furrow in two rows, each plant being opposite the gap between the nearest two in the opposite row thus:—. There are usually twenty-five plants to a plot, and 12,500 to an acre.

After transplanting, the seedlings are watered once in three days till they are about six inches high. The soil round them is then hoed over and weeded. They are then watered once in five days, and when they attain a height of one foot, the hoeing and weeding are repeated. For about a week after this the plants are left unwatered, and then they are watered at intervals of four or five days till the crop is cut.

When the plants are about one foot six inches high, blossoms begin to form: at this stage the top of each plant is nipped off; no flowers are permitted to mature, except such as are required for next season's supply of seed. The removal of flower buds is followed by the appearance of lateral shoots or 'suckers', and these also must be regularly removed. Not more than ten, or at most twelve, leaves should be left on each plant. Light showers are favourable; heavy showers are injurious; but the worst enemy of the tobacco grower is a hail-storm, which means the annihilation of the crop.

From sowing to cutting tobacco takes about six months to mature; the crop is cut therefore in June.¹ Cutting takes place in the evening, the stems being cut two inches from the ground with the leaves on them. The cut plants are left *in situ* through the night, and at 8 a.m. next morning they are heaped together, the plants of about five plots being thrown into one heap: at 5 p.m. they are again scattered, to be heaped again next morning. These operations are repeated daily, usually for about a week, in some localities for a month.

In the Tammampatti area, after a week of this exposure to the night air, the plants are hung up in houses or sheds. If space permits, each plant is suspended separately, but if space is insufficient, several plants may be hung on one cord, one below the other, in such a way that they may easily be pulled down. After hanging for twenty or twenty-five days the leaves become completely dry. The plants are then taken down, spread on palmyra leaves and covered with varagu straw. Over the straw more palmyra leaves are laid, and over the leaves are placed heavy timber and stones. After being subjected to pressure for four or five days, the weights, straw and palm leaves are removed, the tobacco is turned, and pressed again in the same way; sometimes some butter-milk or country vinegar is sprinkled on the leaves each time they are turned. These processes are repeated five or six times, at intervals of four or five days. The leaves are then removed from the stalks, bundled, and again subjected to pressure for some fifteen days. The bundles are then picked over; all small, ill formed or spoiled leaves are removed and reserved for home consumption; the remainder are made into bundles of about two hundred and fifty leaves each for the market; about five hundred such bundles go to a cart load. The wholesale price of a cart load varies according to the quality of the tobacco from Rs 100 to Rs 150—the average being Rs 125 or four annas a bundle.

The seasons for irrigated tobacco are not everywhere the same as in the Tammampatti area. In Tiruchengōdu taluk it is sown in Adi or Avani (mid July to mid September), transplanted after about sixty days in Purattāsi, Arpisi or Kārtigai (mid September to mid December), and harvested in Tai (January, February) or later. In Salem it is sometimes sown in Kārtigai or Mārgali (mid November to mid January), and transplanted in Tai or Māsi (mid January to mid March). In Uttankarai it is transplanted in Tai, and harvested in Chittrai (April—May). The method of cultivation and curing differ very little, however, from that above described.

Rain-fed tobacco is sown in nurseries usually in Avani (August—September), transplanting takes place according to season and locality in Purattāsi or Arpisi (September to November), the plants being kept in the seed-bed some-

¹ The leaves are considered mature when the texture becomes granulated and of a dark green colour with yellowish blotches.

times for sixty days; the crop is cut in Mārgali or Tai (December to February), or even later. The preparation of the soil is similar to that adopted with irrigated tobacco, when transplanted the plants are set wider apart than those of irrigated tobacco, and they require to be protected from the sun, with twigs, leaves or branches, for fifteen or twenty days. They must be watered for three or four days, the water being usually poured from pots. In the third week after transplanting the ground is hand-hoed, and this is done again at the end of the sixth or seventh week. At the end of the second month the soil is deep-hoed with a *manvetti*. When the flower-shoots are removed, the tops are some times smeared with a drop or two of arrack or of the milky juice of the *maday* plant mixed with gingelly oil. This improves the flavour of the leaf. In curing rain-fed tobacco it is not necessary to hang it up, as in the case of irrigated tobacco. In Tiruchengōdu taluk rain-fed tobacco, after the usual eight days' exposure to the night air, is sometimes exposed to the sun for two days, and the night air treatment is then extended for another fifteen days. It is then packed tight indoors for five or six days, after which the leaves are separated from the stem, and the pressing processes then begin.

THE BETEL-VINE.

Betel is grown on clayey soil on which paddy has been previously raised; land recently cultivated with sugarcane or plantains should be avoided. The presence of lime in the soil is considered favourable to its growth.

In the Plains the land is flooded in the month of Tai (January and February), and trenches are dug one foot wide, one foot deep and three feet apart, the earth taken from the trenches being heaped on the intervening spaces. The land then remains dry for a month. In Māsi (February—March), four or five days after full moon, the trenches are flooded, and the intervening spaces are sown with seeds of *agatti* (*Sesbania grandiflora*) in two rows, four inches apart. For four months water is baled daily from the trenches on to the *agatti* seedlings, and insects and weeds are carefully removed. In Vaiyāsi (May—June) the betel cuttings are planted and covered with straw for forty days. The cuttings, when planted, are about eighteen inches in height. For about fifteen days dry powdered cow-dung or other manure is added and covered up with mud. Shortly afterwards the *agatti* saplings are stripped of their leaves, except for a dozen or so on the top. The vines are trained over the *agatti* poles, and tied to them with *kōrai* grass. In the Bālaghāt the method is slightly different. The ground is subjected to three or four, or even five or ten, preliminary ploughings and is trenched before April. Planting of betel cuttings takes place between April and September. The planting should be completed before the Makha rain. The cuttings are planted in pits, three feet square and six feet apart, four cuttings being set in each pit. There are about 500 pits to the acre, or 2,000 plants. Shade is planted five or six months before the betel cuttings, the favourite

shade plants being (besides the ubiquitous, *agatti*), *Murukku* (or drumstick), *Erythrina indica* and *Bombax malabaricum*. Sometimes additional protection is afforded by planting plantains all round the garden. Manure is applied twice a year, for the first time six months after the vines are planted. The earth of white-ant hills is valued as a manure, as well as the dung of sheep and goats. In Krishnagiri the procedure is similar, but the season is later, the preliminary ploughings being done between May and July, and the planting of cuttings in Purattāsi or Arpisi (September to November), the Hasta Nakshatra of Purattāsi and the Swati Nakshatra of Arpisi being specially auspicious occasions. The cuttings are watered from pots till they strike root, and then they are irrigated once in five, six, or seven days. The soil round the vines is loosened once a year.

The life of a betel garden in the Balāghāt is said to be from twenty to twenty-five years, at the end of which the land should lie fallow for two years, and in the third year paddy may be planted on it. The first crop is cut in Hosūr on good soils two years, and on ordinary soils three years, after planting; in Krishnagiri one year after planting, and in the Talaghat ten months. The leaves are nipped off with a special instrument shaped like a large thumb-nail attached to a ring, which fits the first joint of the thumb. The cut leaves are made up into bundles of 100, wrapped in dried plantain leaves, and sent to the market as soon as possible. The leaves will keep fresh for a week, if occasionally dipped in water. In Hosūr an acre of good land yields, it is said, Rs. 350 worth of leaves; cost of cultivation Rs. 150, net profit Rs. 200; in Krishnagiri the cost of cultivation is estimated at Rs. 200, and the net profit at Rs. 300. Till recently betel-vine cultivation was carried on by men of Sadara caste only; in Krishnagiri the Agamudaiyars and in the South the Sōliya Vellalars are specially skilled in the art. No Brahman or Pariah, and no one under pollution should enter a betel-garden, and whoever enters it must doff his shoes. Betel is the emblem of Lakshmi.

T. J. RICHARDS.

LANDMARKS IN SOUTH INDIAN HISTORY

*(A lecture delivered before the South Indian Association, Madras,
on September 29, 1914)*

BY S. KRISHNASWAMI AYYANGAR

DURING the last quarter of a century the study of the history of South India as a distinct history has made considerable advance both through the work of the official departments of investigation in this line and by the labours of disinterested workers in the field who have been doing the work as a labour of love. A great number of inscriptions and copper-plates have been satisfactorily read and explained. Large finds of coins have been collected, catalogued and read. Even exploration work on important sites has been carried on. A large number of important works of literature have been not only brought to notice, but several of these have also been published. Defects of detail and imperfections notwithstanding, the actual output of work is considerable, though a great deal more remains yet to be done. It will not be unprofitable, therefore, to pause and look back on the important results achieved; to take stock as it were of the recent additions to our knowledge of the past if it be only to see where more light is needed and what may probably have to be our efforts in the immediate future.

It is almost twenty-five years since the first constructive attempt was made to fix some mile-stones in the history of Tamil Literature. I recall the incident with pleasure as it marks my entry into this line of enquiry, the more so as it gives me the occasion to pay my tribute of admiration to two departed worthies whose early death is a great loss to South Indian scholarship. They were both of them carried off in the prime of life, one of them at forty-two and the other not much older. These are the late Professor Sundaram Pillai of Travancore and Mr. V. Venkayya, Epigraphist to the Government of India. I enjoyed the friendship of the one and my admiration for the learning of the other was no less for lack of personal acquaintance. It was in the course of the discussion, sometimes very animated, between these two scholars that my interest was aroused while

yet in the Junior B.A. Class and even my occasional assistance was made use of. Mr. Sundaram Pillai's was almost a pioneer attempt and has had a following quite worthy of the model. 'I owe it to Dr. E. Hultsch to acknowledge that the inception of this dissertation is due entirely to him. But for his frequent and encouraging enquiries, it would never have been written. Having ventured to ascribe a higher antiquity to *Sambandha* than usual, in a review of the Ten Tamil Idylls in the magazine above named (*The Christian College Magazine*), I was asked to support my statement with facts, and in my endeavours to do so ensued this essay.' In these circumstances was laid the first mile-stone and it happened to be well and truly laid.

Since 1891 then there have been various attempts in various directions and many more mile-stones have been similarly laid—some well and truly, and others not so well. Our purpose then is to examine what these are and to say how far they may be regarded as reliable for further work.

The first reference that may be considered of a historical character is the mention of the three kingdoms of the South in the Edicts of Asoka, passing over what literature refers to as the coming of R̥shi Agastya to the South, and the founding of Tamil grammar, if not Tamil literature itself. We cannot regard it so historical, in our present state of knowledge of Sanskrit literary history, that the Chera, Chola and Pandya had played each his part in the *Mahabharata* war either in the fighting line or in the commissariat. Arjuna's conquest of the South and the marriage with the Pandya Princess belong to the same category in spite of the fact that a realistic touch is given to the story by referring to Maṇalūr as the Pandya capital. The Buddha's coming to Ceylon is also beyond historical cognizance for the present. The references in the Edicts of Asoka have to be regarded as historical and are in rock-edicts II and XIII. As translated by Vincent A. Smith they stand as follows:—

Rock-Edict II

'Everywhere in the dominions of His Sacred and Gracious Majesty the King, as well as among his neighbours, such as the Cholas, Pandyas, the Satiyaputra, the Keralaputra, as far as Ceylon, Antiochus the Greek (Yōṇa) king, or kings bordering on the said Antiochus everywhere has His Sacred and Gracious Majesty the King made curative arrangements of two kinds—curative arrangements for men and curative arrangements for beasts, etc.'

Rock—Edict XIII

'And this is the chiefest conquest in the opinion of His Sacred Majesty—the conquest by the Law of Piety, and this, again, has been won by His Sacred Majesty both in his own dominions and in all the neighbouring realms as far as six hundred leagues, where the Greek (Yōṇa) king named Antiochus dwells, and north of that Antiochus to where dwell the four (4) kings severally

named Ptolemy, Antigonas, Magas and Alexander; and in the South the (realms of) Cholas and Pandyas, with Ceylon likewise and here too, in the king's dominions, among the Yōnas and Kāambojas, among the Nābhapantis of Nābhaka, among the Bhojas and Piṭṇikas, among the Andhras and Pulindas—everywhere men follow His Sacred Majesty's instruction in the Law of Piety. Even where the envoys of His Sacred Majesty do not penetrate, there too men hearing His Sacred Majesty's Ordinance based on the Law of Piety and his instruction in that Law, practise and will practise the Law'. What calls for remark in these extracts is that the *Emperor* regarded the Tamil Kingdoms as lying outside his dominions, but still served by his messengers of the Law of Piety. There were others that did not afford this access. Such a statement can only mean that these were kingdoms on terms of friendly intercourse and, unlike the forest tribes in his own dominions, readily susceptible to influence for good.

Further light fails in this direction for centuries. We have to turn our attention to another part of our neighbourhood for light and this time it comes from Ceylon. The Buddhist chronicles of Ceylon—particularly the *Mahāvamśa* and the *Dīpavamśa*—had not received their value till recently. They have no doubt been studied and edited; but their actual value could not be appraised by outside evidence to the extent necessary for a reliable estimate of their historical worth. The recent new edition and translation of the *Mahāvamśa* by Professor Geiger of Erlangen, and his studies of the whole series of chronicles of Ceylon embodied in his critical work *Dīpavamśa* and *Mahāvamśa*, have thrown an amount of much needed light upon this question, the results of which may be briefly indicated as follows:—The King *Vatṭagāmaṇi* (B.C. 29–17) was a great patron of Buddhism. In his reign there sprang up schisms in the Church and secessions from the *Mahāvihāra*. An effort was made to bring back unity. 'The text of the three *piṭakas* and the *aṭṭakathā* thereon did the most wise bhikkus hand down in former times orally, but since they saw that the people were falling away (from religion) the bhikkus came together, and in order that the true doctrine might endure, they wrote them down in books.' This *aṭṭakathā*, the primary purpose of which was merely the exposition of the three *piṭakas* or the Buddhistic canon, contained a certain amount of Church history as recorded from time to time by the monks of the *Mahāvihāra*. It was this particular part that an attempt was made to put into epic form first in the *Dīpavamśa*, elaborated and perfected as an epic in the *Mahāvamśa* in the sixth century A.D. under *Dāthūsēna*. It is found recorded in the *Çūlavamśa* 38–59, that King *Dāthūsēna*,

'*datva sahaṣṣam dīpētum Dīpavamśam Samādiśi*'

[bestowing a thousand (pieces of gold), ordered the writing of a *dīpika* on the *Dīpavamśa*]

The *aṭṭakathā* that had been handed down by word of mouth to almost the end of the first century B.C. was set down in writing about 20 B.C. This and its continuation to about the middle of the third century A.D. formed the basis of the *Dīpavaṃśa*. The same matter received further and somewhat fuller treatment in Buddhagoṣa's introduction to the *Samantapāsādikā* in the fifth century, and epic elaboration in the *Mahāvamśa* in the sixth century. The further continuation of this same chronicle and the various other chronicles both in Pali and Singhalese bear unmistakable marks of their indebtedness to the *aṭṭakathā* of the Mahāvihāra monastery.

The incident, referred to, of these canonical texts and commentaries having been committed to writing, and the manner in which the statement is made would go to dispel the notion that writing was not known in the south before about the third century A.D. at the best. This statement would refer only to Ceylon but the frequent intercourse between this part of Ceylon and the coasts opposite as well as certain other pieces of evidence, even epigraphical, the Asoka records and those in the Amarāvati topes, would warrant the inference that South India was not behind the north in this important instrument of civilization. What is more to the point in regard to our present concern is that the Ceylon ruler *Vaṭṭagāmaṇi* in whose reign this great event took place had to make good his claim to rule in Ceylon against Tamil usurpers. For the first Tamil usurpation, however, we shall have to go back to 177 B.C. when two sons of a horse-freighter usurped the throne ; but the most remarkable Tamil usurper was *Elāra* as the chronicles call him, or *Elēla Śingam* as he is popularly known, among the Tamils. Unreclaimed heretic that he was from the point of view of the Buddhist, he ruled so well that he earned the unqualified approbation of the pious chroniclers. His date in Geiger's Scheme is 144-101 B.C. It is impossible with the means at our disposal to say anything against that date which appears quite possible, since there is nothing on this side of the straits so far available either to confirm or refute this dating.

Passing over various other incidents in the chronicles in which Ceylon comes into contact, generally hostile, with India which have left no echo on this side of the straits, we pass on to one *Gajabāhu*, King of Ceylon (A.D. 171-193) according to Geiger's Scheme. Except the founding of three or four vihāras for the benefit of the pious Buddhists and the construction of a tank on behalf of one of the many vihāras, the chronicle records nothing of this monarch. There is a *Gajabāhu* of Ceylon referred to in the *Śilappadhikāram* who was so friendly to the Indian monarch of the west coast, the 'Śera Senguṭṭuvan that he was present at the consecration of the temple to Pattini at Vanji (modern Koḍungalūr). Like his brother monarchs of the Chola and Pandya he also erected a temple to the same goddess in Ceylon after he returned from India. These are the facts found in the epic. The question naturally would arise which of the two *Gajabāhus* known to the

Mahāvamsa is the person likely to have come to India, the second century one or the twelfth century one. We have shown elsewhere¹ the evidence both positive and negative against the supposition that it is the latter. In regard to identifying the Gajabāhu of the *Silappadhikāram* with the first of the name in Mahāvamsa there have been considerable opposition based chiefly on the unreliability of names and dates in the Mahāvamsa. Professor Geiger's researches have contributed largely to strengthen this identification while the researches of Dr. Hultsch himself go to establish the general reliability of the chronicle in the latter part although he does put in a note of caution that his demonstration of the reliability of a number of dates does not necessarily involve his conviction that all the dates are alike reliable. The researches of both these scholars show that as far as there are outside checks available the dates appear to stand the test. In respect of others there are no such and in regard to some of these there are apparent inconsistencies. Admitting the force of all this, it would still stand to reason to consider that a monkish chronicler is not likely to fall into a bad blunder in respect of the name of a king who lived about 130 years before his time. The very silence of the Buddhist chronicle in regard to Gajabāhu's Indian tour and his subsequent doings in religion which according to these chroniclers would be heretical in the extreme, seem to inspire confidence in the identification. We are not left altogether to this negative surmise. The Singhalese chronicles of Ceylon form a distinct group by themselves and, though availing themselves of the earlier chronicles in ample measure, still embody traditions from other sources. Professor Geiger² finds 'it is remarkable to note what they (Singhalese chronicles) relate in agreement over the reign of Gajabāhu'. They relate that he invaded India to recover the Ceylonese carried off on a previous invasion by the Cholas. He returned bringing with him a colony of Tamil settlers, the alms-bowl of the Buddha and had brought also the foot ornaments of Pattini Devi, etc.³ The general circumstances of the Chola kingdom at the time would make these achievements possible. The accounts of foreign writers, the conclusions drawn from Tamil literature and an examination of the finds of Roman coins, etc., would point to the same conclusion.

There has, so far, been no reason shown against this except a vague disinclination to accept what the actual evidence leads up to. The late Mr. Venkayya would refer to the fifth century A.D., the period of the Sangam, while he admitted that the best period of Tamil literature was the second and third century A.D. Others have followed with very much less show of argument in their favour. Mr. L. D. Swamikkannu Pillai would refer the twin epic *Silappadhikāram-Manimēkhalai* to the eighth century A.D. on astronomical

¹ *Ancient India*, by S. K., pp. 363-5.

² *Dīpavamsa and Mahāvamsa*, translated by E. M. Coomarasami, p. 103.

³ Cf. *Ancient India* above, pp. 364 and 365.

grounds and would find support in the *Abhidāna Chintāmaṇi* (Śaṅgam publication) in regard to Gajabāhu being the surname of one of the contemporary Ceylon rulers. This is not supported by any one of the chronicles of Ceylon so far examined. Till more positive evidence is brought against it this may be reckoned a mile-stone in Tamil literature and South Indian History. There is a body of literature which can well be exploited along with the works of the classical geographers with very good results. This period of national vitality and literary efflorescence passed into decayed national sentiment and literary decadence about the beginning of the fourth century which finds its echo in the Mahāvamśa as well. This corresponds to the state of things both in the Dekhan and Northern India, in both of which alike there is a haze of uncertainty in regard to this very period.

From out of this haze there shines forth an unlooked for gleam of light. For this again we are indebted to the Mahāvamśa. In the reign of Duṭṭaga-
maṇi (101 B.C. to 77 B.C.) the king called together a vast assembly of Bhikkus from various Buddhist centres. Among them we find mention of a place called Pallavabogga, placed in the narrative between Kāsmira and Alasanda, the City of the Yōṇas. Immediately after this comes the monastery by the road of the Vindhyan forest mountains. Professor Geiger seems inclined to locate this Alasanda in the Paroponismus or the Hindu Kush, but we have to look for it rather on this side of the mountains into India. Bearing in mind that it is not safe to infer from the order of statement the geographical location of places, it will still be permissible to locate this somewhere about Sindh in which region there were Alexandrias enough, Karachi itself being among them, and Kandahar. The location of the Pallavabogga in this locality is in keeping with the fact that about A.D. 130 the Andhra King Gōtamīputra claims to have defeated the Pallavas along with the Śakas and Yavanas. A little later, about A.D. 150 Rudradāman had a Pallava minister Suvisāka according to the Junagadh Inscription of Rudradāman.¹ It was from this position that they were moving gradually south-eastwards till at the time of the break up of the Andhra Power they are found in the region of Guntur. When the Dekhan power of the Andhras went to pieces about the middle of the third century A.D. these found themselves the heirs of the eastern part, as the Chālukyas became heirs of the western. Of these two the Pallavas seem to have made good their position earlier so that Samudragupta, in the course of his conquests, found them a well-settled power on his borders, Yuvamahārāja Viṣṇugōpa of Kanchi figuring in his Allahabad Pillar inscription of about A.D. 350, while there is no mention of the Chālukyas at all. With this ruler the Pallavas come into a prominence which they maintained unbroken for a period of about four centuries, when they split up into a number of principalities which get easily swallowed up in the rising

¹ pp. 15 and 16 of Venkayya's Pallavas, S.I.A.'s pamphlets : The Pallavas.

empire of the Cholas. This period of Pallava ascendancy is one of very great importance in the history of India. We are none the less left, for this important period, with only two mile-stones of anything like a reliable character. The one is the age of Tirugūṇa Sambhanda and the other of Tirumangai Ālvār. When all available material is thoroughly exploited it will be possible to look forward to more.

One remarkable feature, however, is that in the Śāṅgam literature so called there is not the faintest echo of anything that will give a hint of this Pallava ascendancy. The only name at all answering to that of the Pallava is that of the Tondamān Iṇdirayan of Kanchi, the story of whose origin is echoed in a tenth century inscription tracing the Pallava genealogy to the *Mahabharata* hero Aśvattāman through a Naga Princess. This circumstance alone would refer this literature as a whole to a period anterior to Viṣṇugōpa of Kanchi. Well preserved tradition and some of the hymns of Sambandha¹ himself couple the name of Sambandha with one Siruttonḍar who took a prominent part in the destruction of the Chālukya capital Vātāpi about A.D. 640 by the Pallava Narasimhavarman I. Appar was an elder contemporary of Tirugūṇa Sambhanda and these are two of the Tēvāram hymnners, Sundaramūrti being the other. It is possible to group others round these, and thus mark out a body of literature as belonging to this age. This is Mr. P. Sundaram Pillai's mile-stone.

There is another mile-stone hardly less important, but one which had not received the attention that it deserved of the late lamented scholar. This is Tirumangai Ālvār. In his decad on the Viṣṇu temple Aṣṭabujam at Kanchi he refers to a Vairamēgha who received the submission 'of the ruler of the people of Tondaimaṇḍalam and whose army lay around the city of Kanchi.'² The late Mr. Venkayya's reference to this seems but a half-hearted admission that this personage can be no other than the Rāshṭrakūṭa Dantidurga Vairamēgha for whom, according to Dr. Fleet, there is only one date A.D. 756 available. He was overthrown by his uncle soon after. It is his attack upon Kanchi under the last great Pallava ruler Nandivarman Pallavamalla that brought about the downfall of their ascendancy in the South.

There are thus three landmarks which we have noted before the age of the Chola ascendancy in the South for which there is abundant material in the shape of inscriptions recently read and published. It is the

¹ செந்தன்பூம் புனம்பந்த செங்காட்டம் குடிமேய,
வெந்தரீ தணிவார்பன் மறுத்தெண்ட னவன்வேண்ட,
வந்தன்பூம் கலிக்காழி யடிக்கையே யடிபாலும்,
சந்தங்கொன் சம்பந்தன் தமிழகாப்போர் தங்கோரோ.
(3rd Tirumurai: Sengāttānguḍi, stanza 10.)

² 'மன்னவன் தொண்டையர்கோன் வணங்குகின் முடிவான வயிரமேகன்
தன்வலிதன் புடைகுழந்த கச்சியட்ட புயகாத் தாதிதன்னை.'
(Periyatirumoli, viii. 10.)

age antecedent to A.D. 900 that lacks those outstanding features which would make historical investigation a matter neither of great difficulty nor of uncertainty. Even in regard to these three there is a considerable volume of doubt and dissent arising from various causes. While the late Mr. Venkayya was quite prepared to admit that the Augustan Age of Tamil Literature may be referred to the second and third centuries of the Christian era, he would refer the epic *Silappadhikāram*—*Maṇimekhalai* to the fifth-century A.D. Mr. Swāmikkannu Pillai would bring these to the seventh or eighth century A.D. on the basis of the astronomical data furnished by the works in question. Whatever may be the final verdict on the question in regard to this epic in particular, three independent lines of investigation would agree to the period indicated by me, the second century A.D. and a part of the third, as the period of Śaṅgam literature so called. These are the results of my own investigations and those of the late Mr. Kanakasabhai Pillai in the said literature, and give a picture of South Indian politics which could, from the known historical circumstances, be ascribed to that age and to none else. A study of the classical geographers and the *Mahāvamśa* itself would support this position so far as they bear upon this matter.¹ Mr. Sewell's investigation on the coin-finds in South India show that a very brisk trade was carried on between this part of India and the Roman Empire from the foundation of the Empire to the days of Nero A.D. 68, and continued, though much less briskly, to the days of Caracalla A.D. 217. Its cessation after this date can be accounted for by the disruption of the kingdoms of the south, as well as that of the Andhra. As against a general volume of evidence of this tendency it will be unjudicial to urge a single detail of a negative character where the chances of error are greater.

In regard to the second landmark there seems a fair unanimity of agreement though it is based partly on tradition² of no higher authority than others of the kind. There is so far no valid reason to doubt it both from all that is now known of the general character of the period and of the special features since brought to notice, though much of the argument in Mr. Sundaram Pillai's thesis has become out of date.

¹ *Vide Ancient India*, pp. 70-74.

² மன்னவர்க்குத் தன்னிறைய வடபுலத்த வாதாவித்
தொன்கைத் துணாகத் திறநெடுங்கை வண்புகத்த.

அந்தரவிற் சண்டைநக ஶாண்டகையா செழுந்தருள
முன்னுக் வெநிர்நொண்டு கொடுபுகுத்த முன்னாங்கே
பொன்மார்பிற் கெடுத்தொண்ட புலிகை வனையுத்தம்
நன்னுமச் செவடிக்கப் போற்றிசைத்த கெடுநிறந்தார்.

சண்டையித்தம் பெருமாளார் தாங்கிய பெருங்காதற்
பண்புடைய கெடுத்தொண்ட குடன்பயின்று மற்றவரை
மண்பாவு திருப்புகித் தினிழைவத்துச் சிறப்பித்த
கண்பருளி மெழுந்தருளத் தாவினிட வண்புற்றார்.

(பெரியபு. கெடுத். புராணம். 28, 24.)

In regard to the third there have been criticisms of various kinds, but the conclusion has so far remained unshaken. Some of these criticisms happen to illustrate very well what historical research should not be, and I may be excused if I mention one or two of them. There is a passage in Tirumangai Ālvār's Śiriyāṭṭirumaḍal which reads :—

வாரார் வனமுலை வாஸவதத் தையென்று
ஆரானும் சொல்லப்படுவான்—அவனாந்தன்
பேராய மெல்லமொழியப் பெருந்தெருவே
தாரார் தடந்தோன் தனைக்காலன் பின்போனான்
ஊரா நிகழ்த்திடப் பட்டானே.

‘Vāsavadattā of the fine bodice, well known of all, relinquishing all her great wealth, went away, on the high way, with the garland-shouldered and manacle-footed prince, her lover. All in the town, alas ! laughed at her in derision.’

From this statement of the Ālvār regarding Vāsavadattā a ready inference, though not unnatural, is drawn that the Ālvār must have been posterior to Subhandhu the author of the romance Vāsavadattā. This implies two presumptions neither of which is true. The first is that the story of Vāsavadattā's elopment is accessible only in Subhandhu's Vāsavadattā, and the other is that the Ālvār drew from that source. Till both of these can be substantiated by adequate reasoning or by positive evidence they will have to be ruled out of court as of no value in regard to the Ālvār's date. The Paiṇṇi Brhatakathā, variously ascribed to the first, fourth and fifth centuries contained the story. There is a Tamil version of it which is probably a translation, also regarded an early work. Kalidāsa knew of this and regarded the affair of such folklore importance that he ascribes it as an attribute to the old townsmen of Avanti¹ in the Meghaduta.

31. प्राप्यावन्ती नुदयनकथा कोविदग्रामवृद्धान् ।

पूर्वोद्दिष्टा मनुसरपुरी श्रीविशालां विशालाम् ॥

स्वर्णोभूते सुचरितफले स्वर्णिनां गांगतानाम् ।

शेषैः पुण्यैर्हृत मित्रदिवः कान्तिमत्स्यदमेकम् ॥

¹ Prāpyāvantīnudayanakathā kōvida grāmaṇṇān,
Pūrvōddiṣṭāṁ anusarapurīm ‘Śrīviśālāṁ Viśalāṁ
Svalpibhūte sucharitaphalē svargiṇāṁgāṁgatānām
Śeṣaiḥpuṇyaiḥ hṛtamiva divaḥ kāntimat khaṇḍam ekam
Pradhṛtasyapriyaduhitaram Vatsa rajotra jāhrē
Haimantāladruma vanam abhūtatra tasyaiva rēgṇāḥ
Atrod-bhrāntaḥ kila naḥagiriḥstambha mutpāṇyādarpa-
Dityāgantūnramayati janōyatra bandhūnabbhiḥḥḥ.

34. प्रद्योतस्य प्रियदुहितरं वत्सराजोऽत्र जहृ ।

हैमंताळ द्रुमवनमभूद्रतस्यैव राज्ञः ॥

अत्रोद्भांतः किलनलगिरिस्तंभ मुत्पाद्यदर्पा ।

दित्यागन्तून्नमयति जनोयत्र बन्धुनभिज्ञः ॥

There are Kṣhēmēndra's and Somadeva's versions in Sanskrit of the Brhat-kathā of eleventh and twelfth centuries not to speak of the Nepal version recently brought to light. Mr. Narasimhachar has recently brought to notice a reference to a Sanskrit South Indian version of an early Ganga King, Durvinita by name.¹ There is besides the traditional vogue of a striking incident like this. From which of these sources did the Ālvār draw and what is there in the reference itself to indicate the clue? On the face of it, it seems impossible to point to any particular source or draw any definite inference. Yet a definite inference is actually drawn and put forward in quite a pontifical fashion. As this critic does not show himself to be possessed of the fundamental qualification of a critic, an understanding of the positions criticized, it is not worth while to pursue the matter further.

Mr. Swamikannu Pillai, who did me the honour of sending an advance proof copy of his paper in the journal of the South Indian Association, would date the Ālvār a quarter of a century later, on an examination of the horoscopic details available for the Ālvār. The results arrived at by him are vitiated by two defects: (1) the horoscopic details are of no more authenticity than other details as they are taken from the same sources, (2) his results do not give all the available dates during the possible centuries. Hence the results cannot yet be accepted as final. There seems no objection, however, to ascribing him to the eighth century of the Christian era.

In spite of differences concerning details there is a concensus of opinion in regard to the period, that is, the eighth century A.D. for this Ālvār. This gives us the third mile-stone so far.

The next mile-stone worth noting here is the age of Maṇḍalapuruṣa, the author of the *Sūṭṭāmaninigaṇṭu*. He calls himself a disciple of Guṇabhadra and states that he composed the work using the material both in the Divākaram and Pingalandai to provide a work easier for learners.

செகமெனும் பளிக்குமாடத் திகிரிவேந் தரையேபோல
புகமெனும் பஞ்சி சேர்த்திப் பொலிவுறு போத்தாணி
மகிழ்குண பத்திரனெங்கள் வழித்தெய்வம் போல்வான்சொல்ல
இகபர மிரண்டும்வேண்டி இயலிசை வல்லோர்கேட்ப.

¹ Mr. N. would refer the plate in question to the sixth century A.D.: Śābdāvatāraṅkāreṇa, dēvabhārati—nibaddha. Vādāṅkathena, etc. JRAS (1913), 389.

வருமுறை திவாகரம்போல் வைத்துப்பிங் கலந்தைதன்னில்
 ஒருங்குள பொருளுமோர்திடீ றெரத்தன் விருத்தத்தன்னில்
 இருத்தவை நல்லோர்குற்ற மியம்பிபா ரென்பதெண்ணித்
 திருந்திய கமலவூர்தி திருப்புகழ் புராணஞ்செய்தோன்
 பார்த்தசீர் குணபத்திரன்ருள் பணித்தமண் டலவன்றானே.

This Guṇabhadra, Mr. T. S. Kuppasami Sastri has shown to be a contemporary of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Akālavarṣa Krishna II by extracts from Jaina works. Dr. Fleet has noted that the earliest synchronous date for this monarch is A.D. 888 and the latest A.D. 911-2. A Sanskrit commentary on Guṇabhadra's Ātmānuśāsana describes him as the preceptor of Krishna II when Yuvaraja. Guṇabhadra finished his Uttārapurāṇa in the year Pingala coupled with Saka 820 with a date falling in A.D. 897. This is probably the work referred to in the penultimate line of the last verse from Maṇḍalapuruṣa quoted above. It leaves no doubt then that the Krishnarāya referred to in the following is this Akālavarṣa Krishna II of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty.

படைமயக் குற்றபோதும் படைமட மொன்றிலாதான்
 மடைசெறி கடகத்தோளான் மதிக்குடை மன்னர்மன்னன்
 கெழுமன்னர் வணங்குத்தாளான் கிருட்டின ராயன்கைபோற்
 கொடைமட மென்றுசொல்ப வரையாது கொடுத்தலாமே.

Maṇḍalapuruṣa and the Śūḍāmapinighaṇṭu may thus be referred to A.D. 900 or thereabouts, and the Divākaram and Pingalandai to a period considerably anterior to this.

Passing on to the period of Chola ascendancy, we have a number of historical dates and facts to mark our path; but so far as these come into touch with literature they are neither too many nor too definite. The period of Kaṇḍarāḍittan Chola, who is counted among the Śaiva devotees is known to be between A.D. 950 and 972. The next landmark would, however, be the Virasoliyam which was composed during A.D. 1063-1070, with a commentary following close upon this. In the next reign and during the second decade of the next century was composed the Kalingattupparani of Jayangondān. Aḍiyārkunallār must have followed soon after, and following him come Oṭṭāk-kūttan in the period covered by the reign of Kulottunga II and Rajaraja II. There is good ground for holding that Kamban and Puḡalēndi flourished in the same period as well. The reign of Kulottunga III is marked by the production of the Tamil Grammar Nannūl in about A.D. 1202.

These would be quite enough landmarks for starting a systematic arrangement of the literary and historical material available for South Indian history, and there is great deal of room for useful and unostentatious work in this direction. There is absolutely no reason for fanatical assertions and contradictions in an enquiry like this which ought to foster a judicial habit of mind more than anything else. This discipline is sufficient recompense for the time and trouble that may be bestowed upon it, provided the work be carried out on an organized plan.

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[No. 2

THE MNEMONIC VALUE OF THE NAMES OF THE INDIAN MUSICAL SCALES

BY THE REV. EDWARD P. RICE, B.A.

THERE is an interesting fact about the seventy-two scales of Hindu music which seems to be less known than it ought to be. I have seen no reference to it in any English book; and Mr. Fox Strangways in his recent elaborate treatise on 'The Music of Hindustan' is as silent on the subject as his predecessors. I have, therefore, thought it worth recording in the pages of the journal of the Mythic Society, whence it may reach others interested in the subject.

The fact that I refer to is that the names of the Scales, as used at least in South India, have a mnemonic value, so that from the mere name of a scale one is able to state its place in the list and the musical intervals of which it consists.

The mnemonic system is that known as the *Ka-ta-pa-yddi Sankhyá*, which gives a numerical value to the consonants of the Sanskrit alphabet. It is familiar to epigraphists, being used sometimes in the dating of inscriptions. It is also used in treatises on Astronomy and Astrology, and to mark the leaves of manuscripts. The rule is given in the following *sūtra* :—

*Kādi-nava tādi-nava pādi-pancha yddyashtau
Ityaksharāṇām ankāḥ ankānām vāmato gatiḥ*

that is:—‘Beginning from *ka* count nine, from *ta* nine, from *pa* five, and from *ya* eight; this gives the numerical values of the letters, which must be read backwards.’ It results in the following scheme,—each number being represented by any of the letters below it:—

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0
k	kh	g	gh	ñ	c	ch	j	jh	h
t	th	ḍ	ḍh	ṇ	t	th	d	dh	n
p	ph	b	bh	m					
y	r	l	v	s	sh	s	h	[1]	

In every case the first consonant of a word gives the unit, the second gives the figure in the tens column, and so on, the numbers being read from right to left. To illustrate it from the List of Musical Scales given below,—

in Kanakāngi,	k = 1, n = 0; value 01 = 1
in Nāṭakapriya	n = 0, t = 1; value 10
in Sarasāngi	s = 7, r = 2; value 27

In conjunct letters the general rule is for the consonant *last sounded* to be the only one counted. In this respect, however, there is an unfortunate irregularity in the List of Scales. Nos. 2, 17, 46 conform to the rule; but in Nos. 16, 48, 54, 57 and 68, the *first* consonant is the one reckoned. It would not be difficult to replace these names by others conforming to the usual practice.

As the palatal nasal *ṇ* is not used except in combination with another consonant, it follows that the dental *n* is the only practicable representative of zero. Hence all the names of which zero is the unit figure (10, 20, 30, etc.) must begin with *N*. Or conversely, every word beginning with *n* must represent a multiple of 10. Also all the names from 1-9 must have *n* as their second consonant, as zero is required in the tens column.

Although 2 can be represented by *kh*, *th*, *ph* or *r*, yet *r* is by far the most common of these consonants. Hence we find it as the second consonant in all the names in the list from 21-29; and also as the first consonant in all names of which 2 is the unit (12, 22, 32, 42, etc.).

Now, as the Scales are arranged systematically, each variable interval being in turn given first in its smallest character and then in its larger ones, the whole seventy-two names fall into twelve sets of six each; and also into two sets of thirty-six each, which last exactly correspond to one another. It follows that to know the name of a Scale is to know not only its place in the complete list, but also the arrangement of its intervals.

It will be seen that this mnemonic value of the names answers the same purpose as the *Clef* and the *Key Signature* in European music. If a series of notes is written down in staff notation, the singer does not know in which of at least sixty different ways it is to be sung, until he is told in which of fifteen possible *keys* and in which of the four common *clefs* it is written,

These are, therefore, given at the beginning of the line. Similarly in Indian music, if a series of notes is written down in *Sa-ri-ga-ma* notation, it may be sung in a large variety of ways, until we know the Scale (*melakartu* or *mélajanya*); and this is given by the mnemonic.

It is only fair to add that, as far as I can learn, very little use is made of this mnemonic value of the names; and indeed it seems to be unknown to most Indian singers. Very few Indian singers are acquainted with the *theory* of Music. They learn the *rāgas* and their *mūrccanas* by ear and repetition, just as most people ordinarily pick up an air by hearing it sung and singing it over and over, and are quite unable to expound its structure. Hence it is the name of the *rāga*, and not the name of the *scale*, that is given at the head of a piece of Indian music.

TABLE OF INDIAN MUSICAL SCALES

		C	C#	D	D#	E	F	F#	G	G#	A	A#	B	C
		Doh	ra	Ray	ma	Me	Fah	fe	Soh	la	Lah	le ta	Te	Doh
		Sa	Ri ¹	Ri ² Ga ¹	Ri ³ Ga ²	Ga ³	Ma ¹	Ma ²	Pa	Dha ¹	Dha ² Ni ¹	Dha ³ Ni ²	Ni ³	Sa
1. Kanakāngi	..	sa	ri	ga	..	..	ma	..	pa	dha	ni	..	..	sa
2. Ratnāngi	..	sa	ri	ga	..	..	ma	..	pa	dha	..	ni	..	sa
3. Gānamūrti	..	sa	ri	ga	..	..	ma	..	pa	dha	..	..	ni	sa
4. Vanaspati	..	sa	ri	ga	..	..	ma	..	pa	..	dha	ni	..	sa
5. Mānavati	..	sa	ri	ga	..	..	ma	..	pa	..	dha	..	ni	sa
6. Tānarūpi	..	sa	ri	ga	..	..	ma	..	pa	..	..	dha	ni	sa
7. Sēnāpati	..	sa	ri	..	ga	..	ma	..	pa	dha	ni	..	..	sa
8. Hanumatōḍi	..	sa	ri	..	ga	..	ma	..	pa	dha	..	ni	..	sa
9. Dhēnuka	..	sa	ri	..	ga	..	ma	..	pa	dha	..	..	ni	sa
10. Nāṭaka-priya	..	sa	ri	..	ga	..	ma	..	pa	..	dha	ni	..	sa
11. Kokila-priya	..	sa	ri	..	ga	..	ma	..	pa	..	dha	..	ni	sa
12. Rūpāvati	..	sa	ri	..	ga	..	ma	..	pa	..	..	dha	ni	sa
13. Gāyaka-priya	..	sa	ri	..	..	ga	ma	..	pa	dha	ni	..	..	sa
14. Vakulābharaṇa	..	sa	ri	..	..	ga	ma	..	pa	dha	..	ni	..	sa
15. Māyāmālavagaula	..	sa	ri	..	..	ga	ma	..	pa	dha	..	..	ni	sa
16. Cakravākam or Shaṭ- cakra	..	sa	ri	..	..	ga	ma	..	pa	..	dha	ni	..	sa
17. Sūryakānta	..	sa	ri	..	..	ga	ma	..	pa	..	dha	..	ni	sa
18. Hāṭakāmbari	..	sa	ri	..	..	ga	ma	..	pa	..	..	dha	ni	sa
19. Jhēnkāra-dhwani	..	sa	..	ri	ga	..	ma	..	pa	dha	ni	..	..	sa
20. Naṭhabhairavi	..	sa	..	ri	ga	..	ma	..	pa	dha	..	ni	..	sa
21. Kīravāni	..	sa	..	ri	ga	..	ma	..	pa	dha	..	..	ni	sa
22. Kharaharapriya	..	sa	..	ri	ga	..	ma	..	pa	..	dha	ni	..	sa
23. Gaurimanōhari	..	sa	..	ri	ga	..	ma	..	pa	..	dha	..	ni	sa
24. Varuṇapriya	..	sa	..	ri	ga	..	ma	..	pa	..	..	dha	ni	sa
25. Māraṇjini	..	sa	..	ri	..	ga	ma	..	pa	dha	ni	..	..	sa
26. Cārukēṣi	..	sa	..	ri	..	ga	ma	..	pa	dha	..	ni	..	sa
27. Sarasāngi	..	sa	..	ri	..	ga	ma	..	pa	dha	..	..	ni	sa

TABLE OF INDIAN MUSICAL SCALES—(continued)

		C	C [#]	D	D [#]	E	F	F [#]	G	G [#]	A	A [#]	B	C	
		Doh	ra	Ray	ma	Me	Fah	fe	Soh	la	Lah	le ta	Te	Doh	
		Sa	Ri ¹	Ri ² Ga ¹	Ri ³ Ga ²	Ga ³	Ma ¹	Ma ²	Pa	Dha ¹	Dha ² Ni ¹	Dha ³ Ni ²	Ni ³	Sa	
28.	Harikámboji	..	sa	..	ri	..	ga	ma	..	pa	..	dha	ni	..	sa
29.	Dhīraṣankarābharaṇa	..	sa	..	ri	..	ga	ma	..	pa	..	dha	..	ni	sa
30.	Nāganandini	..	sa	..	ri	..	ga	ma	..	pa	..	dha	ni	..	sa
31.	Yāgapriya	..	sa	..	..	ri	ga	ma	..	pa	dha	ni	..	..	sa
32.	Rāgavardhani	..	sa	..	..	ri	ga	ma	..	pa	dha	..	ni	..	sa
33.	Gāngyabhuṣaṇi	..	sa	..	..	ri	ga	ma	..	pa	dha	..	..	ni	sa
34.	Yāgadīswari	..	sa	..	..	ri	ga	ma	..	pa	..	dha	ni	..	sa
35.	Śūlini	..	sa	..	..	ri	ga	ma	..	pa	..	dha	..	ni	sa
36.	Ollanaṭa	..	sa	..	..	ri	ga	ma	..	pa	..	dha	ni	..	sa
37.	Sālagam	..	sa	ri	ga	..	..	..	ma	pa	dha	ni	..	..	sa
38.	Jalārnavam	..	sa	ri	ga	..	..	..	ma	pa	dha	..	ni	..	sa
39.	Jhalavarāli	..	sa	ri	ga	..	..	..	ma	pa	dha	..	..	ni	sa
40.	Nacantam	..	sa	ri	ga	..	..	..	ma	pa	..	dha	ni	..	sa
41.	Pāvani	..	sa	ri	ga	..	..	..	ma	pa	..	dha	..	ni	sa
42.	Rāghupriya	..	sa	ri	ga	..	..	..	ma	pa	..	dha	ni	..	sa
43.	Gavāmbodhi	..	sa	ri	..	ga	..	..	ma	pa	dha	ni	..	..	sa
44.	Bhavapriya	..	sa	ri	..	ga	..	..	ma	pa	dha	..	ni	..	sa
45.	Subhapantavarāli	..	sa	ri	..	ga	..	..	ma	pa	dha	..	..	ni	sa
46.	Shāṭvidha-mārginī	..	sa	ri	..	ga	..	..	ma	pa	..	dha	ni	..	sa
47.	Suvarṇāṅgi	..	sa	ri	..	ga	..	..	ma	pa	..	dha	..	ni	sa
48.	Dīvyamapi	..	sa	ri	..	ga	..	..	ma	pa	..	dha	ni	..	sa
49.	Dhavalāmbari	..	sa	ri	..	..	ga	..	ma	pa	dha	ni	..	..	sa
50.	Nāmanārāyaṇi	..	sa	ri	..	..	ga	..	ma	pa	dha	..	ni	..	sa
51.	Kāmavardhani	..	sa	ri	..	..	ga	..	ma	pa	dha	..	..	ni	sa
52.	Rāmapriya	..	sa	ri	..	..	ga	..	ma	pa	..	dha	ni	..	sa

TABLE OF INDIAN MUSICAL SCALES— (concluded)

	C	C \sharp	D	D \sharp	E	F	F \sharp	G	G \sharp	A	A \sharp	B	C
	Doh	ra	Ray	ma	Me	Fah	fe	Soh	la	Lah	le ta	Te	Doh
	Sa	Ri ¹	Ri ² Ga ¹	Ri ³ Ga ²	Ga ³	Ma ¹	Ma ²	Pa	Dha ¹	Dha ² Ni ¹	Dha ³ Ni ²	Ni ³	Sa
53. Gamanaśrama ..	sa	ri	..	..	ga	..	ma	pa	..	dha	..	ni	sa
54. Viśvambhari ..	sa	ri	..	..	ga	..	ma	pa	..	..	dha	ni	sa
55. Śyāmalāngi ..	sa	..	ri	ga	..	..	ma	pa	dha	ni	..	..	sa
56. Śhaṣṭmukhapriya ..	sa	..	ri	ga	..	..	ma	pa	dha	..	ni	..	sa
57. Simhēndramadh- yama ..	sa	..	ri	ga	..	..	ma	pa	dha	..	..	ni	sa
58. Hēnavantini ..	sa	..	ri	ga	..	..	ma	pa	..	dha	ni	..	sa
59. Dharmavati ..	sa	..	ri	ga	..	..	ma	pa	..	dha	..	ni	sa
60. Nītimati ..	sa	..	ri	ga	..	..	ma	pa	..	..	dha	ni	sa
61. Kāntāmaṇi ..	sa	..	ri	..	ga	..	ma	pa	dha	ni	..	..	sa
62. Rishabha ..	sa	..	ri	..	ga	..	ma	pa	dha	..	ni	..	sa
63. Latāngi ..	sa	..	ri	..	ga	..	ma	pa	dha	..	..	ni	sa
64. Vācaspati ..	sa	..	ri	..	ga	..	ma	pa	..	dha	ni	..	sa
65. Mēcakalyāni (Mā- syakalyāni) ..	sa	..	ri	..	ga	..	ma	pa	..	dha	..	ni	sa
66. Citrāmbari ..	sa	..	ri	..	ga	..	ma	pa	..	..	dha	ni	sa
67. Sucaritra ..	sa	..	..	ri	ga	..	ma	pa	dha	ni	..	..	sa
68. Jyotisvarūpipi ..	sa	..	..	ri	ga	..	ma	pa	dha	..	ni	..	sa
69. Dhātuvardhani ..	sa	..	..	ri	ga	..	ma	pa	dha	..	..	ni	sa
70. Nāsikhābhūṣaṇi ..	sa	..	..	ri	ga	..	ma	pa	..	dha	ni	..	sa
71. Kosala ..	sa	..	..	ri	ga	..	ma	pa	..	dha	..	ni	sa
72. Rasikapriya ..	sa	..	..	ri	ga	..	ma	pa	..	..	dha	ni	sa

BHUTA WORSHIP IN THE WEST COAST

SOME of the simple innocent folks on the west coast believe in the manifold activities of the Bhūtas (imaginary devils) in causing distress to them; and in order to propitiate such creatures temples are dedicated to them on small knolls generally far away from human habitations. Such shrines usually consist of square shaped mud buildings having four, sided gable roofs. The shrine, therefore, is a square hall with practically nothing in it. But some Bhūta temples are oblong shaped with a small thatched portico in front. The following is a description of one such on a rise near Malleswar (ten miles north of Kudremukh) in Mysore Province. Some quaint observances prevail in this locality in connection with the Bhūta worship and they also will be detailed below.

The temple at Malleswar is an oblong hall, 20 ft. x 12 ft. with two entrances on the east and north sides. About twenty feet in front of the temple (i.e. on the east side) there are two upright stumps of wood, three feet high, driven into the ground two yards apart. Just beyond the enclosure on the east side are two little sheds containing each a wooden seat raised on four small bamboo supports. All these have an enclosure, like a temple *prākāram* on a miniature scale. (*Vide* sketch, figs. 1-3.)

Inside this Bhūta temple I noticed three wooden seats one facing east and the other two the north point of the compass and having each a sword planted on them in the centre. Figs. 4 and 5. These are the places for the deities which require propitiation once a year during the month of Vaiyasi (May). The three bell-metal *vigrahas* that represent the deities are named *Ishta-Devatai*, *Kodamanthayi*, and *Kukkilanthayi*. They are in the custody of the *pujari* and are brought to the temple only during the special *pūja* in Vaiyasi. During this worship the *Ishta-Devata* takes the eastern facing seat and the latter two are made to occupy the northern seats. The expense of the worship works up to about Rs. 100, and forty-eight houses share this expense. Each house contributes two *kuduthai* (a small measure) of oil, one *kolaga* of rice (ten seers), three cocoanuts, twenty-five plantain fruits and two annas in cash.

The granting of relief from any distress already affecting the people is accomplished through the medium of three 'Hambathravas' (a set of low caste people) of Mala village in the South Canara District. They are obliged to be present on the occasion as they receive gold bangles for their trouble

once a year. They arrive punctually on the evening of the special worship day. Two of them take an active part while the third constitutes the helper. The former bathe, paint themselves with saffron coloured arsenical paint, and put on the jewels and the leg ornaments (Gaggare, fig. 6) belonging to the temple. Immediately with the permission of the devotees they start the show, and allow themselves to be possessed by the devils. Each one takes up a five pointed lighted torch in each hand, dances about and tries to burn his head with the flames. They are, however, forbidden to do so by the devotees, and are further requested to name their (devotees) faults. The two then remove the torches from their heads, and after sitting on the two short wooden stumps in front of the temple they proceed to question the misdeeds of the devotees done during the year. Then the devotees beg of them to be excused and promise to set matters straight. The 'Hambathravas' also styled 'Darsikas' say 'Aye' to this, and then drink the tender cocoanuts supplied to them. Immediately they are dispossessed of the devilish inspiration. For their trouble the two chief actors get Rs. 3 while the helper gets nothing.

After spending the whole night on the hillock in this manner, the three 'Hambathravas' return to their homes the next morning after going the round of the temple behind the deities who are now mounted and drawn on three wooden *vahanams* representing the tiger, the leopard and the horse—all painted gaudily and fixed to small planks mounted on four small wheels. The poses of the dummy tiger and the leopard exemplify the quaint notions the people of these parts have of such creatures. The annexed sketch has the figure of the leopard (fig. 7). The deities are afterwards removed to the house of the *pujari* for safe custody.

It is only the male population of the villages round about that partake in this sort of devil worship. The women folk are forbidden to enter even the temple precincts lest they should be deprived of their offspring, if any, and also made barren from that minute onwards.

I was also informed that a similar devil worship takes place at the foot of the hillock during *Karthikai* (November) when the deities are seated on specially erected *Matchans* and where also the 'Hambathravas' take their share of acting. During *Chitra-Pournami* (the full moon period in the month of Chithirai) these three deities are taken on palanquins to the famous car festival at Samse.

The two little sheds located just outside the enclosure of the Bhūta temple at Malleswar also have their devil worships on the same night in Vaiyasi. Seven minor deities (servants of the three major gods mentioned above) are carried by men and stationed on the two little wooden platforms. Another set of low class people called the 'Pandavas' (untouchables), four in number, come from Marasanige near Kalasa in Mysore Province, and they perform similar feats in front of the smaller deities. They are not much

Fig 1.

Plan of Temple

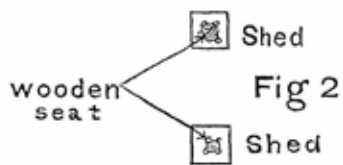
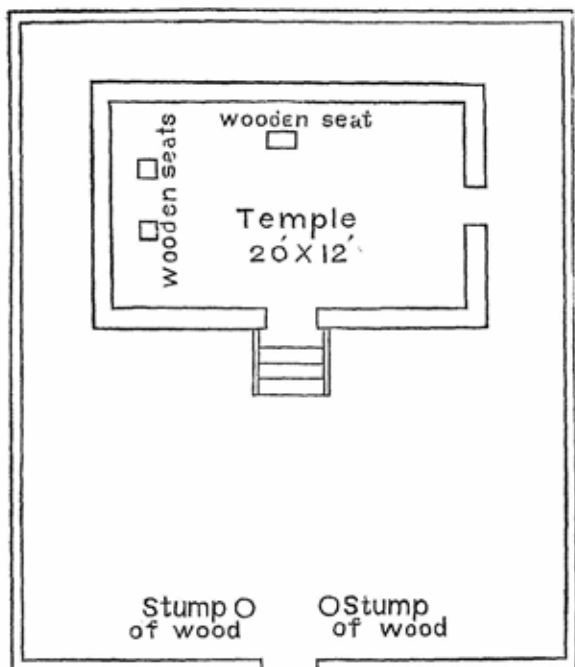


Fig 3
Front view of the Temple

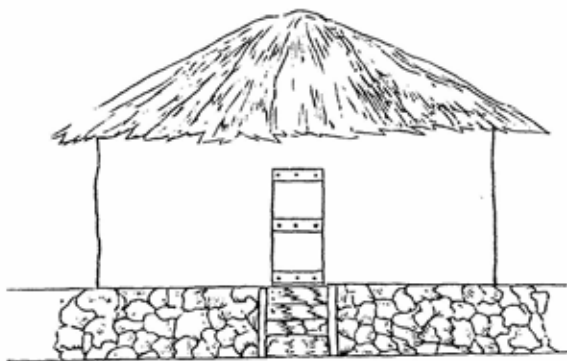
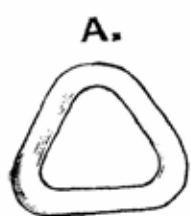
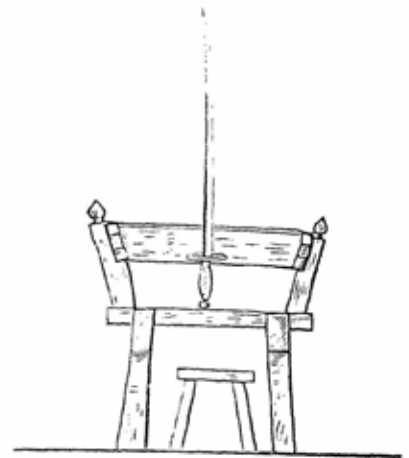


Fig 6



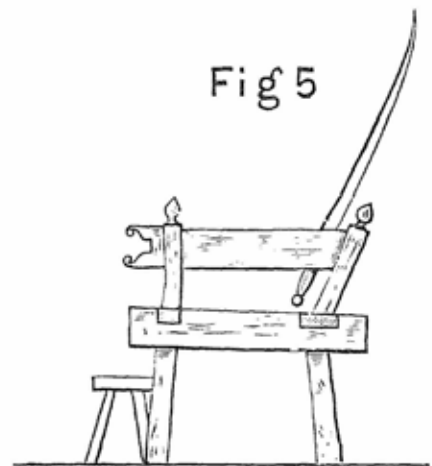
Side view
of the above

Fig 4



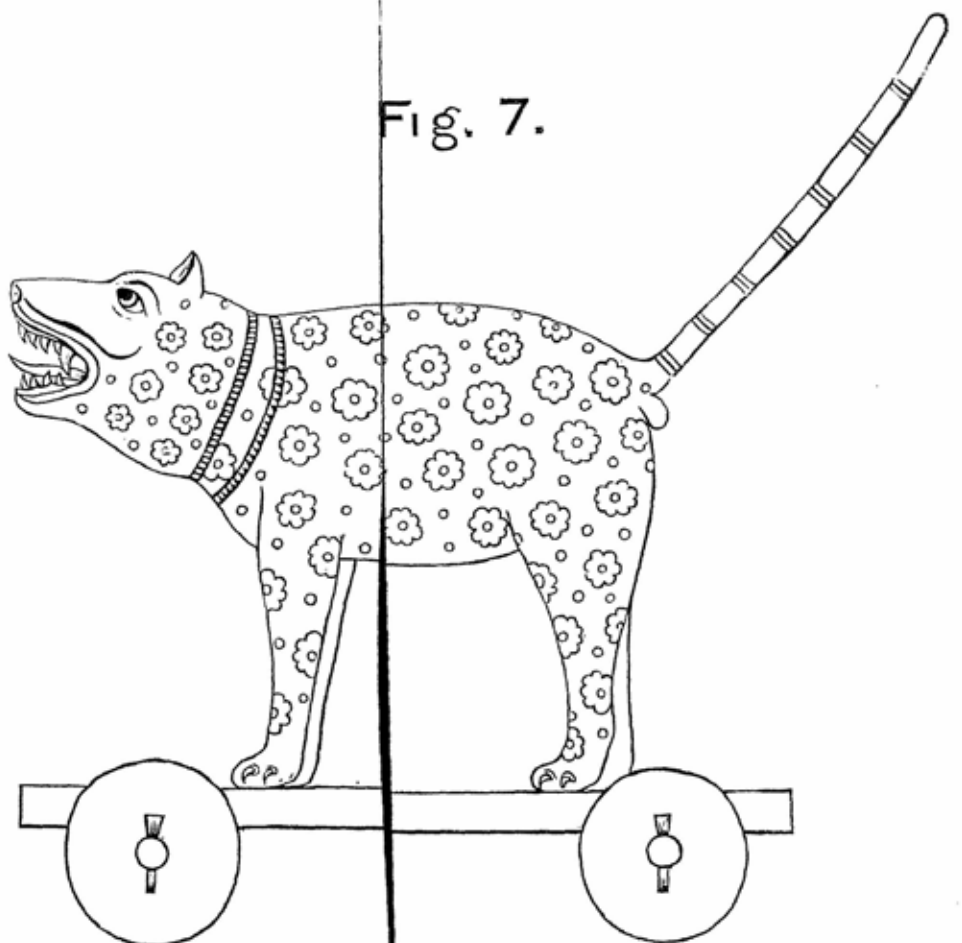
front view of the wooden
seat in the temple.

Fig 5



Side view of figure 4.

Fig. 7.



patronized by the people and they are paid 7×4 annas, i.e. Rs. 1-12-0 for their trouble.

The people in these wilds believe very much in the workings of the devils, so much so that every natural phenomenon is construed to be the manifestation of the power of the Bhūta. Once I observed a villager suddenly stopping in the middle of his morning walk and gazing with awe at the rise of two thin columns of misty vapour from wooded ravines. When questioned, he replied that one represented the male 'Atta' (devil) and the other the female. Perhaps if he had waited there long enough, I daresay he would have seen several of the child 'Attas' as well.

P. SAMPAT IYENGAR.

FISHING, HUNTING AND FOWLING

THE following notes on the methods of fishing, hunting and fowling in vogue in Salem District may be of interest to readers of the *Mythic Society's Journal*, and I hope that other observers may thereby be induced to record in the pages of the *Journal* the results of their observations of similar practices prevailing in other parts of the Madras Presidency.

Fishing There are five kinds of net commonly in use in the district. They are made at home by the Sembadavars themselves.

(1) *Siru-valai*, a circular cast-net, conical in shape, and 14' in diameter. The meshes (*kan* or 'eyes') are $\frac{1}{2}$ " wide. Three strands of No. 40 cotton thread are used to make it. Round the edge of the cone runs a stout cord, on which several hundred iron weights are threaded like beads. This marginal cord is attached to fifty-one strings, which unite in threes at a distance of one foot from the edge. The resulting seventeen cords pass within the net through a small ring in the apex of the cone, so that the margin of the net can be drawn inwards and upwards at will. In throwing, the upper folds of the net are caught up in the right hand, and the lower portion of the net is so arranged with the left hand and right elbow, that all the weights hang free. It requires some skill to throw it so that the weighted cord strikes the surface of the water on a fully extended circle. When the net has sunk to the bottom, the fisherman crawls round its edge, and feels for the fish it contains by gently patting it. As soon as he catches a fish, he puts it in a little net bag called *sikkal*, about 15" deep and 20" wide at the bottom, with a circular mouth 5" in diameter. This bag he carries in his waist-cord. As he proceeds, he folds the margin of the net inwards, and when the margin is folded to about 3' from the centre he draws together the seventeen interior cords and lifts the net on to the bank, where he turns out the rest of his booty. This net is used in both rivers and tanks, in from 2' to 5' of water. In it are caught small carp, cat-fish, loach, etc.

(2) *Vēndu-valai*, used only in rivers when in fresh. It is about 50' long and 3' to 4' wide. One edge is weighted with earthen sinkers; to the other floats of *Erythrina stricta*¹ are attached. The mesh is $\frac{7}{10}$ " wide, and, for weaving the net, three strands of No. 50 thread are used. The net is

¹ Thorny coral tree (Tamil Kaliyāna-murukku maram).

stretched across the course of the river, and three or four fishermen start a beat fifty yards or so up-stream; shouting and striking the water with heavy 8' poles, they work steadily towards the net, and there secure their prey. The fishes caught are similar to those obtained by the first method.

(3) *Ottu-kacchāl* or *Ottukku-valai*, the frame of this net is like a bow, the chord of the arc being 3' 8" long, and the distance from the centre of the chord to the centre of the arc 2' 4". The net itself is 4½' deep, and the bottom, which is 2½' wide, is open. The mesh measures ⅔", and is made of three strands of No. 40 thread. This net is used in shallow water, either singly or in pairs. The chord is placed at an angle of 45° with the bank, and small fish are driven into it, by the beating of the water with poles. When two nets are used the ends of the chords which are farthest from the bank form the apex of a triangle with the bank as the base. When fishing with these nets a flat pouch of palmyra *cadjān* is substituted for the *sikkal* as a receptacle for the fish caught.

(4) *Sanna-valai*, another form of circular cast-net, similar in shape to the *siru-valai*, but measuring only 9½' in diameter, and without any arrangement of strings to draw the edges in. The mesh is ¼' from knot to knot, and is made of strong thread (four strands of No. 20 cotton). The margin is weighted with iron plummets, similar to those of the *siru-valai*, but larger and less numerous. This net is used to catch large fish, such as eels, carp, etc., that take refuge under a submerged rock. The net is thrown over a rock, and the fish are then caught by hand.

(5) *Kavuttu-valai*, in shape like the last, but with a mesh of strong hemp nearly 3" square, and with iron plummets as big as limes. It is used for netting large fish which would tear the finer nets to shreds.

The proceeds of the day's fishing are carried home in a strong circular basket of bamboo, slung on one end of the beating pole, the other end being counter-weighted with the nets.

A non-professional method of catching fish is sometimes adopted by small boys of other castes. When a river is in fresh, a spot is chosen where it flows over rocks. An ordinary loin cloth is tied across one of the miniature cascades, and its lower edge is raised in such a manner that the fish, in trying to leap the fall, drop back into the fold instead of into the water.

Prawns are caught with the help of bait. The grain of kambu or sāmāi is first roasted, and then powdered into flour. This is made into dough balls the size of an orange, and the bait is set in a likely spot. Half an hour later a *siru-valai* is thrown over the spot where the bait is set, and the prawns are imprisoned.

The right to fish in Government tanks is sold annually by auction, and the proceeds are credited to Local Funds. Government abolished the fees levied on tank fisheries as 'being extremely complained of by the poor.'

There is no distinct class of professional hunters in the district, but many ryots, particularly the Malaiyālis, Kurumbars and Vēdars are enthusiastic *shikāris*. Stone-built panther traps are frequently met with on the Shevaroy and other hills, and large cage-like monkey traps are common in the plains. Wild pig is hunted all over the district and is netted, shot or speared. Near Nangavalli and elsewhere in Omalūr Taluk, the villagers hold a regular pig hunt once a fortnight; thirty or forty nets of stout rope are set ready, and towards them the boars are driven, and when entangled, are shot or speared. Malaiyālis sometimes wait in ambush behind screens of leaves for the boars to invade their fields. Hares and hedge-hogs are trapped. An ingenious type of hare-trap is used on the Pachai-malais. The traps are set at intervals in the hedges between the cultivated fields. A glaxis of sloping ground is chosen, and the hedge is made impenetrable by branches, leaves, and thorns, the foot-path being closed by a stile. A number of bamboo splinters about 2' long are planted in two parallel rows about 9' apart. Each row is about 4' long, and the space between forms the only passage through the hedge. Between the rows, at a height of about 18' from the ground, are two long poles about 3" in diameter, on which are piled some half a dozen stones, each as large as a man's head. These poles are supported at the near end by a moveable cross piece-resting on two short stakes. Half-way along the passage between the rows of uprights is a little platform of split bamboo, raised an inch or so from the ground, and so placed that the hare must tread on it in passing through. This platform is connected by wooden levers with the cross piece supporting the weighted poles at the near end of the run in such a way that the slightest pressure releases the two long poles, and brings down several hundred-weight of rock on the unfortunate hare.

Professional bird-catchers are to be found all over the district. In Hosūr Taluk birds are caught by Lambādis; Dombaras catch parrots for sale and crows for food. In Denkanikota Division birds are trapped by 'wandering low caste people called Shikāris who speak a conglomeration of Hindustani, Tamil, Telugu, Canarese, etc., and resemble Lambādis in their dress.' The *Kuruwikkārars* of Uttankarai Taluk claim kinship with the Marāthas, whose language they speak. The laws of their caste prohibit them from settling or dwelling in a house. In Krishnagiri bird-catching is taken up by Muhammadans, in Dharmapuri by Pallis and Lambādis. In Salem a few professional bird-catchers are to be found among the Vēdars, in Tiruchengodu among the Tōttiyaas, Pallis, Sembadavars and Barbers, in Rāsipuram among the Koravars. The birds most commonly caught are partridges, quails and parrots. A favourite method¹ of catching partridges is with the help of a cow or bull trained for the purpose. As soon as a group of partridges is located, the

¹ In Hosūr and Uttankarai.

bird-catcher approaches them, concealing himself as he goes behind his cow which grazes unobtrusively close up to the birds. In this way the bird-catcher is enabled to fix a low net all round the space on which the birds are feeding. When the circle is complete, the birds are started, and run full tilt at the nets. Some bird-catchers use an elaborate framework of reeds and bamboo, with an ingenious arrangement of slip-knot loops into which the birds, in trying to escape, must inevitably thrust their heads. For partridges use is sometimes¹ made of a decoy bird, which is taught to utter its natural cry when its owner whistles. The decoy bird is placed in a cage in the forest, and concealed with leaves, and nets are arranged round the cage in such a manner as to fall as soon as the cage is touched. When the decoy bird utters its cry, other partridges or quails come flocking round to attack the intruder, and are promptly netted. Sometimes² a cage with three compartments is used; in the middle compartment is the decoy bird; each of the other two is left open, but closes as soon as a wild bird enters. A third method is to spread nets on the ground, and cover them with earth and grain; the birds in picking up the grain are entangled in the nets. Or again³ the bird-catcher conceals himself in a thick bush, and strews the ground around him with grain; while the birds are picking up the grain, he deftly covers them with a bamboo basket, 3' or 4' in diameter. Birds are sometimes⁴ lured by the placing in wells which they frequent of sticks smeared with the milky juice of the *Ficus religiosa*.

NOTES ON MUNI WORSHIP AND ON WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

The worship of small conical stones under the vague name of Muni, Muni-appan, Munisvara, etc., is common in South India.

Muni Worship The cult in Solappādi Fort, at the confluence of the Toppur River with the Kaveri in Salem District, may be taken as a type. The god and his attendants are represented by twenty-two stones, arranged in the form of a square. On the western side is the Muni himself, represented by a conical stone about six inches high, decorated with a red spot, and surmounted with a semicircular hoop (*prabhāvali*) about eight inches in height. Two smaller stones of similar shape, one on either side of the Muni represent attendants; two little flat stones in front serve as altars for offerings. The south side of the square is marked by a line of seven little stones, the north side by a line of five, the former representing the ladies of the Court (Kannimār) and the latter the men. At each corner of the square and in line with the maidens and courtiers is a large stone; these four stones are called 'gate-keepers'. Opposite the Muni on the

¹ Krishnagiri and Denkani-kōta.

³ Dharmapuri.

² Tiruchengōdu.

⁴ Rāsipuram.

eastern side are two small stones which represent guards, and a little in advance of these, on the northern side, is a large stone called Ondi-Virappan who is apparently the Minister, Commander-in-Chief and general factotum of the Muni.¹ Behind the Muni is a group of spears, swords, chains, scythes, etc., of curious design; behind the maidens is a row of earthenware horses, and behind the five courtiers (who by the way are said to represent the five elements) is a similar row of human and equine figures. The horses are supposed to be ridden by the Muni when he wishes to roam abroad. The Muni has a great reputation as a dispenser of justice. When anything is lost, the loss is reported to the Muni. Litigant parties resort to the spot and extinguish burning camphor, or decapitate a sheep or goat, and pray the Muni to curse the party that is in wrong. A sheep or a goat is killed and hung by its hind legs to an adjoining tree, and the guilty party will contract belly-ache and confess his sins. Flowers of *bilvam*; *arali* or *tulasi* are placed on the head of the Muni; if they fall off on the right it is a good omen, if it fall to the left bad luck will follow.

The study of weights and measures is not merely a matter of administration or commercial importance, but may sometimes prove to be of scientific value from an ethnographic, as well as from a historical point of view. Hitherto, in South India, local practice seems to have withstood with some success all official attempts at uniform standardization. With the improvements in communication effected by railways, local varieties and anomalies will, no doubt, ultimately disappear, but they will die hard, partly on account of the innate conservatism of human nature, and partly because it is profitable to the middleman to buy on one system and sell on another.

An interesting feature in local practice is the employment of different units of weight or capacity for different articles of commerce. The following instances, culled at random in Salem District, may serve to illustrate this.

Medicines are not usually sold either by measure or weight. In Uttankarai Taluk, however, powders (*sūranam*) are sold by the *palam* and *sēr*, oils by the bottle, and pills by number. Pills range in size from a mustard-seed to black-gram or pepper. Scent is sold in the north of the district by goldsmiths' weight, and medicines too in Hosūr Taluk, but the *kundumani* is not used. Elsewhere scent is sold by the tola.

¹ This arrangement is subject to infinite variety. For instance, the 'Court' of Vennānkōdi-Muni-appan, near Salem on the Omalur Road, is represented by thirty-one stones in all. Muni appan himself is a large stone about nine inches high with a brick as altar in front of one of it; on his (proper) left is a Manthiri and four attendants, on his right four attendants. The right side of the square is formed by seven Kannimār and the left by seven Virakkārans and the fourth side by six Munnadiyāns. At Eranapuram Kottai-Muni-appan's assemblage has only fourteen stones, viz. three Munisvaras, seven Kannimār, on the proper right, three Munis on the left, one Munnadiyān in front.

Merchants purchase ghee by measure from the ryots and retail it in bazaars by weight (*palam*, *sēr* and *viss*). One reason for this is that, when fresh, ghee is liquid, but when kept for some time, it partially solidifies. In Krishnagiri villagers sell ghee by the *sēr* measure, eleven and a quarter of which weigh a maund; small bamboo measures called *sōlai* are used, six of which make a *sēr*. In some villages of the southern taluks ghee is sold in small earthen vessels containing one-quarter *mānam* called *soppu*, thirty-two of which make one *kudam*.

Jaggery is purchased from the ryots by the ball (*urundai*) which weighs about one *viss*. In wholesale dealing, however, it is weighed by the *seer* and *pothi* or maund, and also, like tamarind in Salem Taluk, by the *sattai* of ten and a half maunds. Tamarind is usually sold with or without seeds, by the *viss* retail, and wholesale by the maund, *mūttai* (ten maunds), *pothi* or *sattai*. In some parts it is sold wholesale by the basket and retail by the ball. Vegetables are sold wholesale by the basketful, retail by the heap (*kūr*), generally from one to three pies' worth at a time. The retail dealers will buy a basketful for say four annas, and divide its contents into as many heaps as will bring him five annas. Potatoes are sold by the *viss* and maund, and usually weighed by the *velli-kōl*.¹ Areca-nut is sold wholesale by maunds, retail by measures; betel-leaf by the bundle. In Salem and Tiruchengōdu a bundle contains 200 leaves, in Attūr only 100. Plantain leaves are sold by the *adukku* (pile) of five, the *kauli* of ten and the bundle of 200. Tobacco is sold by the 'handful', of which one hundred make up a *pottu*. Green chillies are sold by the *mānam*, and not by weight, except in Hosūr. Coffee beans are sold by Malaiyālis by old measures, twenty-five of which go to a maund. A *tūkku* (lift) of fifty *palams* is used in the sale of castor seeds. A *tūkku* of eighty *palams* is the standard for selling gram pods. These are also sold by the *sādu* of sixteen *vallams* and *kothāni* of six *sādu*. Coriander is sold by the *pātti*, or the square plot of ground on which the plants are grown. Loose flowers for garlands are sold by measure; when strung they are sold by the *mār* (fathom). Chālam stalks are sold by the *sumai*, a bundle which is tied with eight feet of rope. Paddy straw is reckoned by the quantity of grain it has yielded. One *pothi* of paddy would give ten to fifteen bundles of straw. Salt, milk, and oil are usually sold by grain measure. Salt is also purchased by the *mūttai* of 100 measures, or by the bag of ten maunds. In small quantities it is often bartered. Milk and kerosine oil are often sold by the bottle. In Salem Taluk gingelly oil is sold by the *odai* of 14 Madras measures.

F. J. RICHARDS.

¹ A beam balance manipulated on a principle similar to that of a steelyard.

HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF THE INDIAN BRANCH OF THE BOURBON FAMILY

[*Note*.—Many people may not be aware of the existence of a branch of the illustrious Bourbon family in India. And yet it is a fact that, at Bhopal, there are members of the family which gave kings to France, Spain and the two Sicilies and which, in Louis XIV's time, was the most powerful royal family in Europe.

The following translation from *L'Inde des Rajas*, by Louis Rousselet, p. 528 *et seq* will prove, I hope, interesting to many readers of our journal.

A. M. T.]

'DURING the reign of the great and illustrious Emperor Akbar between the years 1557 and 1559 there arrived at the Moghul Court of Delhi a European by name John Philip Bourbon of Navarre,¹ a Frenchman by birth who claimed

¹ The following is the account given by Shahzad Musseah of his family to Major-Genl. Sir John Malcolm. *A Memoir of Central India*, Tom. II, p. 341, *note*.

'John Bourbon came from Pari, or Bevi (probably Paris or Berni in France) in Europe to Hindustan, during the reign of Akbar and going to Delhi, was employed in the service of that prince. After the death of John Bourbon, the king particularly distinguished his son Alexander Bourbon, who was entrusted with the charge of the gate of the palace of the Begums. This charge was continued in the family to the time of Furadee Bourbon, about the time that the king (Nadir Shah) destroyed Shahjehanabad (Delhi) and the ruin of the Empire had taken place. Furadee Bourbon also left this wicked world, leaving a son, Salvador Bourbon, who, viewing the events with disgust and sorrow, left Delhi, and came to reside at Narwar. As all the rajahs and princes of Hindustan were aware of his having been distinguished by the royal service and favour, he was treated with much consideration and respect, and lived at Narwar in great ease. No other man of consequence (foreigner I suppose) remains, in whose family can be traced the possession of an Imperial Jahgir, Shirghar, etc. Near Gwalior was the Jahgir of Bhoba, my ancestor, commonly known as the Nawab Musseah Rago Khan. My father Enayat Musseah (Shoshur Bourbon) was born at Gwalior. Although Europeans without number have flocked to Hindustan since the arrival of John Bourbon, yet our family has not intermarried with any of them except two and they were nobles in their own tribes, and also mansubdars (which constitutes nobility in India) of the Moghul Empire; the one a Frenchman, and the other an Armenian of the Roman Catholic, otherwise our religion.

'In the year that Colonel Kamak and Popun (Camac & Popham) took Gwalior (in 1778—79) the Rajah of Narwar had treacherously seized and murdered Bhoba and our other relations, and possessed himself of their property. At the time the fort was taken, my father, on account of the above calamity, was residing there, and visited Colonel Kamak, to whom he related the history of our family since its arrival in Hindustan and especially of its recent calamity. The Colonel sympathized with and comforted my father, gave him a handsome sum of money, a good house for his family, and a village in free gift. Some time after this my father came to Bhopal, where he was also treated with great kindness and respect. Since the time that the Mahrattas have occupied Gwalior, the village has been resumed by them, and lost to my family.'

These notes have been collected by Rev. Father Norbert, o. c. who was for many years chaplain in Bhopal.—See also *L'Inde des Rajas, voyage dans l'Inde centrale par Louis Rousselet*, p. 528. Paris, Librairie Hachette et Cie. 79 Boulevard St. Germain, 1877.

to belong to one of the noblest families of that country. He told the Emperor that, having been taken captive at sea by Turkish pirates during a voyage he made in company of his preceptor, the family priest, he had been taken a prisoner to Egypt. This happened about 1541, when he was fifteen years old. Once in Egypt, this young gentleman soon gained by his affable manners the esteem of the sovereign, who took him in his service and gave him a command in his army. In a war with the Abyssinians he again was made prisoner. His Christian title, his lively intelligence and his great learning soon raised him to a high position in this country, and he could, under certain pretexts, reach India on one of those Abyssinian vessels, which at that time kept up continued relations with the coast of Konkan. Landing at Broach he heard of the splendour and magnificence of the court of the Great Moghul, and deserting the Abyssinian fleet, he went to Agra and Delhi, where the Emperor then kept his court¹. Akbar, to whom the young European made this narrative, was struck by his gracious manner and his vivid intelligence, and offered him a command in the army. A little later, he appointed him master of the guns and conferred upon him the title of Mansubdar. Loaded with honors and wealth, Prince John Philip Bourbon died at Agra, leaving two sons, whom he had from a Georgian slave of the country². The eldest of his two sons, Alexander Bourbon,³ became the favourite of the Emperor Jehangir, who granted him the hereditary charge of Governor of the Royal Seraglio and also the important jagir of Sirgarh.

¹ Col. W. Kincaid, in his historical sketch of the Indian branch of the Bourbon family, gives the following account: 'In the latter half of the sixteenth century, 1560, John Philip Bourbon of Navarre landed in Southern India. He is said to have been accompanied by two friends (both of whom died during the voyage), and his family priest. After some short stay at Madras, in which place the clergyman eventually remained, J. P. Bourbon travelled by sea to Calcutta, and after many tedious delays reached the capital of the Moghul.

Presenting himself before the enlightened and liberal Emperor, the Great Akbar, who at that time swayed the destinies of the Empire, he told the tale of his travels and his misfortunes (for the tradition is that he left his country owing to his having killed, in a duel, a relative in a high place) and laid his sword at the feet of the mighty monarch whose protection he claimed.

When the Emperor learnt that his guest was so intimately connected with the powerful Court of France, being a member of the younger branch of the family of Henry of Navarre [who was subsequently raised to the throne of France in the year 1589 by right of his marriage with King Henry III's sister], he treated him with much favour and distinction and so high did this young noble rise in Akbar's estimation that upon him were conferred titles of honour and a large jagher as a suitable maintenance.' (Henry the Fourth's claims to the throne of France were based on his descent from Robert de Clermont, fifth son of Louis IX (Saint Louis) (Note of Translator.)

² According to the family records John Philip Bourbon married a young Armenian lady, named Juliana, who, at that time, was employed as lady doctor and in medical charge of the Emperor's Harem. Tradition tells that this lady Juliana built the first Catholic Church in Agra, which is still in existence, and which is said to contain her tomb, and in the precincts of which many members of the family lie buried. I have carefully examined the church but did not find the slightest reference to the Bourbon family. Several of the Bourbon family lie buried in the old Catholic cemetery of Agra.

³ The eldest son of John Philip Bourbon, whose name was Saveille Bourbon, married a Portuguese lady named Allemaine in the year 1600, who bore him a son called Alexander, who himself in 1640 married a lady of English extraction, a Miss Robertson, by whom he had a son

'The records of the family prove that this high office of trust remained in the hands of successive heads of the family till 1739, the time of the invasion of India and the terrible sack of Delhi by the Persian Thomas Kuli Khan, better known as Nadir-Shah.'

'The last governor of the palace was Faradi (Francis) Bourbon. His son Salvador left the service of the padishahs and retired to his jagir of Sirgarh¹ in Malwa, where he took the title of Nawab, or sovereign prince. In 1794, his successor, Bhoba Bourbon² known under the name of Nawab Ragul Khan, was dethroned by a French adventurer, in the service of Scindhia. This Frenchman, who by a whimsical coincidence of fate made fall the throne of the Indian Bourbons nearly at the same time that their namesakes of France were deposed, was Captain John Baptist Fanthome, whose descendants were for a time at the court of Bhurtpore.

'A little after the loss of his principality, Bhoba Bourbon was murdered at the court of Narwar, and his son Enayat Massiah¹ or Shohshar Bourbon fled with his clan to the court of the reigning prince of Bhopal. Vizir Mohammad gave him the command of the citadel and granted him in reward of his services a considerable fief.

'In 1816 Balthasar Bourbon, surnamed Hakim Shahzad Massiah or Christian Prince, son of Enayat Massiah became Prime Minister of the Bhopal State, and two years later, the accidental death of the sovereign put into his hands the regency of the kingdom. It is to the endeavours of Balthasar Bourbon that this small country owes the impulse which made it arrive within a few years to such a remarkable state of prosperity. Pressed on all sides by

called Anthony, who married the great-grand daughter of the convert Yakub Khan said to be of the Ruling House of Afghanistan. This marriage took place in 1670. Seven children are noted as the issue of this union, four sons and three daughters:—(1) Francis, (2) Anthony, (3) Salvador and (4) Saveille, (5) Mary, (6) Catherine and (7) Isabella.

¹ The jagir, originally conferred upon the founder of the family by the Emperor, was situated within the State of Narwar, and comprised the fort, city, districts and dependencies of Sirgarh, held under the immediate protection of the Rajahs of Narwar, who had always held the family in much esteem. To this place Francis Bourbon fled having lost valuable treasures and much property by the destruction of Delhi and the flight of the Imperial family. The Rajah of Narwar at that time afforded Francis much assistance, even so far as conferring upon him a post of trust and emolument, and authorizing him to collect around himself the scattered members of his family who numbered over three hundred souls, so that all might be together in safety.

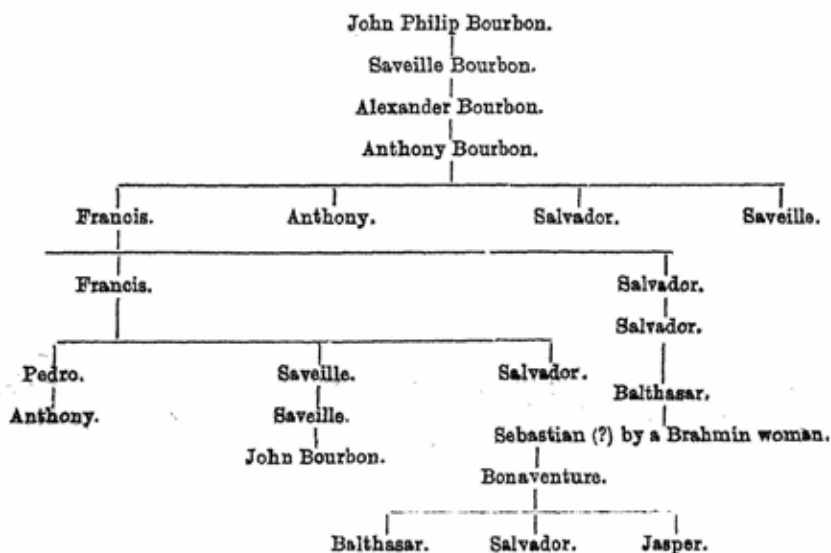
From Bernoulli, *Tieffentaller's Beschreib v. Hindostan*, vol. i, pp. 125-8, we find that Jesuit Fathers used to attend to the spiritual needs of the Christian community of Narwar. There lived at that time, 1747, at Narwar, says Father Tieffentaller, a Christian of Armenian descent who stood in high favour with the great Moghul, and was subsequently appointed governor of that province. He resided in one of the finest palaces of the city, and had houses built for his numerous relatives and employers, as well as a chapel, in which he and his Christian retinue attended divine service on Sundays. This undoubtedly refers to the Bourbon family. Another Jesuit Missioner, Father Matto Rodrigues, was chaplain to the Governor of Narwar. He died there on the 6th of October, 1748, and was buried in the Martyrs' chapel in the old cemetery of Agra.

² Both Bhoba Bourbon and Enayat Massiah lie buried in the old Agra cemetery.

the Mahrattas, Balthasar was the first to offer his alliance to the English. Balthasar died in 1830, leaving all his rights and titles to his widow, the Princess Elizabeth Bourbon surnamed Dulan-i-Sahib and to his nephew Bonaventure Bourbon or Mirhban Massiah.

'Madame Dulan's history is not without interest. It is said that Captain Johnston, her father, married, according to the Mahomedan rite, a Pathan lady of Delhi. Greatly against the mother's wishes, he sent his son to England to be educated. Shortly afterwards a daughter being born, the mother fearing that she would lose her also, fled with the child to Hyderabad, and was there in hiding when the wife of Salvador, and mother of Balthasar arrived on a mission to get a suitable bride for her son; meeting the mother, and being struck by the promise of beauty in the daughter, then eleven years of age, she offered them protection in Bhopal, and an alliance with her son, which was accepted and the marriage took place in the year 1821.'

Genealogical tree of the Indian Bourbon Family.



SACRIFICES, ANCIENT AND MODERN

BY MR. B. M. RUNGIAH NAIDU

IN days of yore the Aryan gods and men lived together in this world. They were constantly in fear of death, which the gods overcame by performing sacrifices. As a reward the gods went up to heaven, but men were left behind. Here is a passage from the *Satapatha Brahmana*¹ of the White Yajur-veda, which gives in a nut-shell what an important part sacrifices played in the thoughts and actions of our forefathers.

'The gods lived constantly in dread of Death—the mighty Ender. So with toilsome rites they worshipped him and repeated sacrifices till they became immortal. Then the Ender said to the gods, "As ye have made yourselves imperishable, so will men endeavour to free themselves from me; what portion then shall I possess in man?" The gods replied, "Henceforth no being shall become immortal in his own body; this his mortal frame shalt thou still seize; this shall remain thy own; this shall become perpetually thy food. And even he who through religious acts henceforth attains to immortality shall first present his body, Death, to thee."'

With the Aryans the idea of sacrifice seems to have originated in a desire to gain the celestial world. Among other desires may be mentioned the obtaining of off-spring, cattle, wealth, fame, theological learning and skill in the performance of sacrifices. The strongest desire is the gaining of heaven for which a Soma-sacrifice is indispensable. 'Those men who perform sacrifices in the same manner as the gods, do dwell after death with the gods and Brahma in heaven.'²

The Soma-sacrifice, which is called the Agnishtoma, falls within the class of Srauta karmas as distinguished from Smartha karmas which relate to domestic rites, such as marriage rites, etc. It lasts for five days. Only a Brahman is entitled to perform it. A Kshatriya can do so under certain restrictions, and when initiated temporarily into the order of *dvijas* (twice-born) by some sacerdotal functions. He must, however, relinquish his dvijaship after the sacrifice. Sixteen priests are to officiate at the Agnishtoma, the most important being the Agni-Hotri who recites hymns from the Rig-veda appropriate to the sacrifice with proper intonation, the Udgâtri priests, who chant hymns from the Sâma-veda in a melodious voice, and

¹ Apastamba Sûtras (ii. 7.16).

² Tândya Brahmana, Apastamba Sûtras. Dr. K. S. Macdonald, M.A., D.D., p.19.

the Adhvarya priests, who assist at the sacrifice by preparing the sacrificial ground, fetching water, wood and grass, kindling the sacrificial fire, procuring and immolating animals, throwing oblations into the fire and so on. These chant the hymns of the Black Yajur-veda.

The Agnishtoma comprises two divisions. The first is the performance of the animal sacrifice, and the second the presentation of Soma-juice to the gods. On the first day the *Yajamāna* (sacrificer) invites the priests and presents them with madhuparka (a preparation of honey, curd and ghee). He himself undergoes some ceremonies (the diksha). He takes a shave and bathes. He is besmeared with butter, and his eyelids are polished with collyrium. They rub him with twenty-one handfuls of dharba grass and make him sit in his appointed place (Pratishta), thus making him pure. They cover him with a new cloth, and over it the skin of a black antelope is laid. After certain mantrams are uttered, the skin is removed and he bathes with the cloth on. This process signifies the birth of the man from his mother's womb. The Dikshaniya Ishti, i.e. the ceremony of initiation, is performed with an offering of Purodasha (douce, made of rice flour, well boiled) to Agni-Vishnu, it being placed on eleven pieces of pots (kapala). On the second day the Prāyaniya Ishti with an offering of choru (cooked rice) is made in order to go to heaven. The Hotri here repeats the verse *agne naya supathā* and *ā devānām api panthām* (i.e.) O Agni! lead us in the right path, etc., in the path of the gods. Then follow the buying of the Soma King and the *Atithya Ishti* (welcoming guests), and the *Pravargya* and *Upasath*, i.e., the bringing of the sacrificial implements which are placed to the left of the Garhapatya fire over which the milk of a cow and a goat are boiled and thrown, as an offering into the Aha-niya fire, after which the *Yajamana* drinks of the boiled milk from a spoon. *Upasath* is a ceremony by means of which the gods formerly drove away the Asuras (demons). Formerly King Soma was living among the Gandharvas. The gods and Rishis wanted him; but the Gandharvas were jealous of him and would not let him go. The gods and Rishis approached Vach (the goddess of speech) who said that she might be sold to the Gandharvas and that she would return to them whenever they wanted her.¹ In imitation of this incident, either an immaculate cow of one year's age is given away or the price of such a one in money is given to the Brahman who brings the Soma. The Soma is brought in the eastern direction (as the gods formerly brought him in the same direction) on a cart with only one bullock instead of a pair under the yoke. The bullock which is let loose represents the children in the house of the *Yajamana* and the yoked bullock represents himself in his worldly pursuits. The buying of King Soma is essential to the success of the sacrifice, and the sacrificer himself will be what Soma was to

¹ Dr. Hang's *Āitereya Br.*, Vol. II, p. 59.

the gods in the days when the latter fought the Asuras who were conquered¹ only because Soma was the King of the gods. The Athithya Ishti is made to him, and Purodāshā is offered on nine potsherds. The Hotri says, '*Bhadrād abhi srēya prehi; brihaspati pura eta te astu; atha im avasya vara ā prithivya āre satrān krinuhi sarva vīrah,*' i.e. go from happiness to still greater bliss, let thy guide be Brihaspathi, let him (Soma) stop on the surface of the earth (without going away from thither) and being endowed with power drive off the enemies (the Asuras) who cause injury to the sacrifice. When Soma is brought, the Hotri says, '*Sarve nandanti yasava*' i.e. all friends rejoice at the arrival of the friend (Soma) crowned with fame. On the third day the Pravargya and Upasath ceremonies are performed once in the morning and once in the evening. On the fourth day the Agni Pranayana (the bringing of Agni) and Agni-Soma Pranayana, the Havirdhāna Pranayana (the bringing of implements of sacrifice) and lastly the animal sacrifice are performed. The Adhvaryu asks the Hotri to repeat the mantrams to Agni who is produced by friction of dried sticks of the *Sami* tree. He says, '*tvam agne pushkarād adhi.*'

If Agni is not produced or if it takes a long time to produce fire, then the Rakshogni verses are repeated.

'O Agni! burn the Rakshasas with infallible flames of fire.

Shine guardian of Eternal Law.

So Agni, with thy glowing face burn fierce against the female fiends.

Shining among Urukshayas. (*Rig-veda*, x. 118).

When Agni is produced, the Hotri says, '*uta bruvantu jantava*' etc., i.e. Agni is born, even he who slayeth vritra (demon), who winneth wealth in every fight.²

Agni is then taken to the Ahavaniya fire-place. The Hotri says in all solemnity, '*ā yam hastena khadinam*' i.e. like an infant newly born in their arms they bear.³ They then place the agni in its place, with the mantram '*pra devam devavitaye etc.,*' i.e. bear to the banquet of the gods, the god best finder-out of wealth. Let him be seated in his place.⁴ The Hotri concludes by saying '*yajnena yajnam ayajanta*' etc., i.e. by means of the sacrifice the gods accomplished their sacrifice. By having thrown the new-born agni into the Ahavaniya fire-place, the gods went to heaven.

THE ANIMAL SACRIFICE

It will be very interesting to go through the small but fastidious formalities which the *yajamān* has to observe when inviting the priests and their

¹ The idea is that the Asuras having attacked the Suras, suffered defeat. There was no offensive invasion.

² *Rig-veda*, i. 73-3.

³ *Rig-veda*, vi. 16-40.

⁴ *Rig-Veda*, vi. 16-41.

characteristic reply. The *yajamāna* sends a delegate, called the *Somapravāka* to all *srotriyas*, i.e. sacrificial priests, asking them whether they would be willing to officiate on the occasion of performing the Soma sacrifice. The *Somapravāka* says to the *Hotri*, 'A Soma sacrifice will be performed by such and such a person. You are respectfully requested to act as *Hotri* at it.' *Hotri*: 'What sacrifice?' *Somapravāka*: 'The *Jyotishtoma-Agnishtoma* sacrifice.' *Hotri*: 'What priests will officiate?' *Somapravāka*: 'Vishnu, Mitra, etc.' *Hotri*: 'What is the reward for the priests?' *Somapravāka*: 'One hundred and twelve cows.' In this way every one of the sixteen priests has to be invited and when they have accepted the invitation, the sacrificer has to appoint them.

The sacrificer first mentions the gods who are to act as his divine priests, who are supposed to preside over functions which their earthly counterparts are fulfilling. He says, 'Agni is my *Hotri*. Aditya (the sun) is my *Adhvaryu*. Parjanya (the god of rain, Indra) is my *Udgātri*. The Moon is my *Brahma*. The Sky (*akasa*) is my *Sadasya* (superintendent). The waters are my *Haraśamsis* (the minor *hotri* priests). The rays of the sun are my *Chamasa Adhvaryu* (cup-bearers). These divine priests I choose for my sacrifice'. Then he chooses the human priests. At the *Agnishtoma* sacrifice the selection is made in this manner. I, of such and such a *gotra*, will bring the *Jyotishtoma* sacrifice, by means of its *Agnishtoma* part, with the *Rathanthra Prishta*, four *stomas*, for which ten things, cows and so on, are required and for which as fee, one hundred and twelve cows must be given. At this sacrifice be thou my *Hotri*'. The *Hotri* then accepts the appointment by uttering the following formula, 'May the great thing thou spokest of unto me, the splendour thou spokest of, the glory thou spokest of, the *stoma* thou spokest of, the way of performance thou spokest of, may all that thou spokest of come to me, may it enter me, may I have enjoyment through it. Agni is thy *Hotri*. He is thy divine *Hotri*. I am thy human *Hotri*.'¹ In this way each one of the priests who are to officiate, is to be appointed in his turn.

There is nothing very remarkable in the rituals of the first four days but those that immediately precede the animal sacrifice on the fourth day are interesting.

When the sacrificial post, the *Yupa*, is erected, the ceremony of anointing it becomes an interesting prelude to what may be termed the beginning of the sacrifice proper. The *Adhvaryu* asks the *Hotri* to repeat the mantra as they anoint the *Yupa*. The *Hotri* says, '*Anjanti tvam adhware*, etc.', i.e. the priests anoint thee, O tree! with celestial honey (butter). Provide us with wealth, if thou standest here erected, or if thou art resting on thy mother earth (R.V. iii. 8.1). '*Urdhva ū shu na ūtaye*, etc.' i.e., 'stand

¹ Dr. Hāng.

upright for our protection, just as the sun-god. Being raised, be a giver of food, when we invoke thee in different ways, and the anointing priests are carrying on the sacrifice.' Next he says, '*Urdhvo nah pahi*, etc.', i.e. standing upright, protect us from distress; burn down all carnivorous beings (the Rakshasas) with thy beams. (The Yupa represents Indra's thunderbolt.) Make us stand upright that we may walk and live. Mayest thou as messenger carry our offerings to the gods! '*Jato Jayate Sudinathe*, etc.', i.e. 'after having been born on an auspicious day he (the Yupa) is growing to serve the sacrifice of mortal man in the prime of his life. The wise are busy decorating the Yupa with skill, for he is an eloquent messenger of the gods and lifts his voice to heaven.' The erection of Yupa (the sacrificial post) has become a common practice among the Dravidians who also place a stone altar before their temples dedicated to their goddesses, and this practice like the building of the sacrificial altar on Mount Sinai by Jacob and Moses at the bidding of the Lord points to one great common idea sacred to antiquity.

By thrice repeating certain appropriate mantrams, the Hotri ties together both ends of the sacrificial animal, to fasten and tighten them to the Yupa in order to prevent the animal from slipping. The animal sacrificed to Agni Soma, must be an admixture of white and black according to Sâyana, because it belongs to two deities; but it is also said that this precept need not be attended to: such contradictory directions run through the whole series of Brahmanas. However a fat animal is to be sacrificed, because animals are fat, and the sacrificer, compared to them, is certainly lean. When the animal is fat, the sacrificer thrives through its marrow.¹

The animal is then consecrated and fire is carried round it thrice. The Hotri then says, '*Agni hota no adhware*, etc.' (R.V. IV-XV 1-3), i.e. (1) Agni our priest, is carried round like a horse, he who is among the gods, the god of sacrifices. (2) Like a charioteer Agni passes thrice by the sacrifice to the gods to whom he carries the offering. (3) The master of food, the seer Agni, went round the offerings; he bestows riches on the sacrificer. The reason given as to why fire is carried round the animal thrice, explains what may appear to be an amusing but meaningless triviality commonly observed in the daily worship of the Hindu. The Devas having spread the sacrifice, the Asuras attacked them, intending to put an obstacle in the way of their successfully performing the sacrifice. They attacked the Yupa from the east, after the sacrificial animal was consecrated, but before fire was carried round it. The Devas surrounded the Yupa for their own protection and that of the sacrifice with a three-fold wall resembling fire. The Asuras seeing these shining and blazing walls withdrew from the attack and ran away. The Devas thus defeated the Asuras. Therefore the sacrificers perform the rite of carrying fire round the animal thrice, when it has been consecrated, and repeat the mantras,

¹ i.e. by pleasing the gods through the marrow thrown on the fire. The Vapa (i.e. marrow-like fat) forms one of the subjects of the next contribution.

in order to surround the animal with a three-fold wall shining like fire. The animal is thereafter taken northwards with a fire brand before it. This is because the animal is a mere substitute for the sacrificer himself who will go to heaven led by the light. Formerly when the gods performed the sacrifice, the sacrificial animal, on its way to slaughter saw death before it. It was not willing to go, as who else would be? The gods thereupon said, 'Come, we will show thee the way to heaven.' The animal agreed on condition that one of the gods should walk before it heavenwards. They consented, and Agni walked before it. Then followed the animal. Therefore they say that every animal belongs to Agni, because it followed him. Therefore a fire brand is carried before the animal.

The Adhvaryu throws Kusa (sacred grass) on the spot where they have to immolate the animal. When they carry it outside the *vedi* (altar) after having consecrated it and after fire has been carried round it, they make it sit on the sacred grass. When the animal is prepared for the sacrifice in this manner, the Hotri says to the slaughterers, 'Ye divine slaughterers, as well as ye, who are human, commence your work (of slaughter). Bring hither the instruments for killing, ye, who are ordering the sacrifice on behalf of the two masters of the sacrifice, viz. Agni and Soma. The mother, the father, the brother, the sister, friend and companion should give this animal up for being sacrificed.' When this mantra is uttered, the animal is seized, as having been given up entirely by its relatives. The Hotri next says, 'Turn its feet northwards. Make its eye go to the sun; dismiss its breath to the wind, its life to the air (notice the knowledge of life and breath, at the time when the Brahmanas were inspired), its hearing to the eight corners of the globe, its body to the earth. Take off the skin entire, without cutting it. Before opening the navel tear out the omentum (Vapa). Stop its breathing within, etc. After the animal has been killed the Hotri says thrice, 'Far may it be from us. For Adhvaryu among the gods, is he who silences the animal; he is the proper *sanuta* or silencer.' The Hotri makes *Japa* (meditation) and utters 'O slaughterers! may all good ye might do abide by us, and all mischief ye might do go elsewhere.' With these words the Hotri gives the orders to kill the animal, for Agni had done so when he was the Hotri of the gods. He thereby removes all evil consequences from those who butcher the animal, clears himself from guilt, and attains the full length of his life.

DIVISION AND DISTRIBUTION

The Hotri says, 'Make of its breast a piece like an eagle, of its arms like two hatchets, of its forearms like two spikes, of its shoulders two *koshya-pas* (i.e. kurma or tortoise), its loins should be unbroken, its thighs two shields, of the two knee-pans two oleander leaves, take out its twenty-six ribs according to their order, preserve every limb of it in its entirety. Thus (the sacrificer) benefits all its limbs. Dig a ditch in the earth to hid

excrements. The excrements consist of vegetable food, and the earth is the place for the herbs.' Thus the Hotri puts their excrements finally in their proper place.

The evil spirits have also their share of the sacrifice, and are not forgotten. Formerly the gods having deprived them of their share in the sacrifices (Havirbhagas of new moon and full-moon), apportioned to them the husks and smallest grains, and having them turned out of the great sacrifices, such as the Soma and animal sacrifices, presented the blood to them. The Hotri says, 'Present the evil spirits with the blood.' By this means he deprives the evil spirits of any other share in the sacrifice. The priest then takes the thick ends of the sacrificial grass in his left hand, dips the other end in blood and says '*Rakshasam bhago*', etc., i.e. thou art the share of the evil spirits; then he waves the grass with the blood up and down, and pours it out from the middle of the bunch. This corresponds to the custom which the Dravidian worshippers of Amman at the present day have copied in all fantastic ways, to wit, sprinkling blood taken from the *bali* or slaughtered animal, mixing it up with rice or other cooked grain and scattering them all over the place as an offering to the evil spirits and to keep them from visiting the village with their evil designs.

The sacrificial animal should be offered as a whole to the gods, but many parts of it, such as hair, skin, hoofs, horns, half-digested food and pieces of flesh which fall to the ground which should not be used, are thrown off. The animal, therefore, is not offered in its entirety. This deficiency is made up in this way. When the gods spread the sacrifice, they killed a man for a sacrifice. But that part in him which was fit for being made an offering went out and entered a horse. Thence the horse became an animal fit for being sacrificed. The gods thenceforth dismissed man as he became unfit for being offered. They killed a horse; but the sacrificial essence in the horse went out similarly and entered a white deer. So they dismissed the horse. The gods then killed an ox; why they did not kill the white deer is not mentioned. It may be that the deer was held sacred even in those days. The sacrificial essence in the ox went out and entered a sheep; it then entered a goat and the *medha* (essence) remained in the goat for a long time. Therefore the goat is pre-eminently fit for sacrifice. The gods killed the goat, but the part fit for sacrifice went out of it and entered the earth. Thence the earth became fit for sacrifice. The gods dismissed the goat which turned into a *sarabha*. After the sacrificial part had entered the earth the gods surrounded it, so that no escape was possible. It then turned into rice. This rice is therefore offered as Purodāsa at the time of the sacrifice in order to make up for the deficiency caused in throwing away the refuse of the animal. This Purodāsa is divided into nine or eleven parts and placed on potsherds (*kapala*) and offered. The Hotri says, 'may our animal sacrifice be performed with the sacrificial essence (which is contained in the rice of the

Purodāsa); may our sacrificial part be provided with the whole sacrificial essence.' The animal of him who has this knowledge is sacrificed in its entirety and the sacrifice itself is complete.

The distribution of the different parts of the sacrificial animal among the officiating priests, is mentioned in the first chapter of the seventh book of the Aitereya Brahmana of the Rig-veda; and the mode of skinning and cutting the animal is as exact as any that the butcher in the bazaar may take credit for. Conflicting directions as to the eating of the flesh of the sacrificial animal and prohibiting the eating thereof, make it so perplexing as to lead one to believe that in the days of the later Brahmanas, such as the Satapatha, flesh-eating had nearly come into disuse and that it was left to the option of the persons engaged in the sacrifice.¹

The portions of the sacrificial animal amount to thirty-six, each of which represents the pada or foot of a verse, the recitation of which leads up the sacrifice (i. e. animal) to heaven. In this manner it gains life in this world and in heaven; and having become established in both, it walks there (heaven). The sacrificial animal becomes a guide to heaven to those who divide it in the proper way without mutilating it. But those who divide it contrary to the directions are like scoundrels and miscreants who kill the animal merely (for gratifying their lust after flesh).

(To be continued)

¹ 'That the animal sacrifice was intended for food, is evident from the directions given in the Asvalayana Sutra to eat of the remains of the offering, but to remove all doubt on the subject, I shall quote here a passage from the Taittiriya Brahmana in which the mode of cutting up the victim after immolation is described in detail; it is seriously to be supposed that the animal would not be so divided if there was no necessity for distribution.'—DR. RAJENDRA LAL MITRA, *Indo-Aryans* (see p. 29).

INDIAN PUBLICATIONS.

THE INDIAN EPICS

MR. T. R. KRISHNACHARYA, of Kumbakonam, the Editor of the South Indian Rescensions of the great epics of the Mahabharata and the Ramayana, has brought the works to a successful completion after several years of devoted labour, at great personal sacrifice. He has also issued an exhaustive index to the Mahabharata, which, from the various cross-references to the subject matter of the several *Parvas*, makes it exceedingly useful to those who have to use this storehouse of history, tradition, literature, philosophy and social laws in the work of research into the ancient history of this land. The index volume also embodies a critical preface in English and Sanskrit. Descriptive contents are also given to enable readers to carry on further studies with facility. References in the form of short narratives to other Puranas, concerning names and topics occurring in the Mahabharata enhance the value of the work, and make the volume indispensable to all students of the Mahabharata. Mr. Krishnacharya has now undertaken to publish the 'Sri Bhagavatam' with critical and authoritative commentaries by the leading authors of the Vedanta schools of philosophy. This work is also to be issued in serials on the same lines as the Ramayana and the Mahabharata.

THE MAHABHARATA IN TAMIL

Pandit M. V. Ramanuja Chariar, who is engaged on the stupendous undertaking of translating the Sanskrit Mahabharata into Tamil, is making, slow, but steady progress with his commendable work. His translation bears the impress of patient research and critical study, and gives every promise of becoming as great a classic in Tamil as the original is in Sanskrit. It is a pity that the work has not received as much encouragement as it deserves from the Indian community and Native States. In these circumstances the author feels encouraged that he should have secured the patronage of the Madras Government and of a number of European gentlemen interested in the vernaculars. It is essentially an undertaking which cannot be completed in reasonable time without wide and liberal support. The Dravidian population has a peculiar interest in the Mahabharata, as it lays open to it the teachings of the Vedas and the Puranas written in Sanskrit

which otherwise are to it a sealed book. The Mahabharata, therefore, is appropriately called the fifth Veda and is calculated to secure the liberalization of the Hindu masses.

THE STORY OF THE RAMAYANA.

Mr. A. Madhaviah, who is already known to Indian readers as the author of several works in Tamil and English dealing with Indian life and character, has rendered into English prose the main story of the Ramayana, the great Indian epic (Macmillan and Co., 4s. 6d.). The story is told in a simple and straightforward manner, and in easy flowing English, being mainly intended for students. The book is, however, no mere abridgment of the great epic, but a narrative of the chief incidents in it so far as they are likely to be accepted by modern readers. The version, therefore, does not in its entirety follow the Sanskrit original of Valmiki. In making this departure, questions relating to polity and morals that have been made themes of endless debates and disquisitions at the hands of expounders of the Ramayana, modern and ancient, have been avoided by Mr. Madhaviah. The Hon'ble Mr. P. S. Sivaswamy Iyer writes an appreciative introduction to the volume in which he pays a tribute to the author for 'having produced an eminently readable story calculated to implant in youthful minds love of the lofty ideals inculcated in the famous epic.' The book also contains illustrations and a map of ancient India showing the route of Rama's march to Lanka.

'BUDDHA AND HIS SAYINGS'

'Buddha and His Sayings' is a brief account of Buddha's life and philosophy by Pundit Shyama Shankar (Francis Griffiths, 3s.). It gives some account of Buddha's doctrines and characteristics, and in the second part quotes his sayings on various subjects. The Pundit contends that Buddha was not hostile to Brahmanism but only to its abuses, and that Brahmanism has absorbed the whole of Buddhism (which sprang from it) and goes beyond it, supplying its defects. He contends that Hindus to-day worship Buddha and revere what he said, but do not keep within the limits of his doctrines because they lack in devotion to a personal God and in 'imageries of a bright hereafter,' besides which, 'a uniform religion to people of all natures and occupations is averse to Brahmanism, which is based on the theory that diversities in natures and religious susceptibilities require diversities of religion.'

THE MADURA TAMIL SANGAM

The Madura Tamil Sangam, which has been working for the last thirteen years, has done much to revive and deepen interest in the study of classical Tamil and in the production of wholesome literature for the Tamils.

The *Sen Tamil*, the monthly journal of the Sangam, has been rendering good service in this behalf. The Sangam has also been conducting examinations for testing proficiency in Tamil among students and Pundits and awarding rewards as incentive for furthering Tamil studies. It has a valuable library of its own and is frequented by scholars. It stands in need of much help, and the aristocracy of Southern India cannot have a more useful object to extend their patronage to than the Madura Tamil Sangam. The Rajah of Pudukotta, the Rajah of Ramnad and Mr. S. R. M. C. T. Pethachi Chettiar as the main supporters of the Sangam can do much to develop it and promote its usefulness to the Tamil literary world. The thirteenth Annual Report, which has just been issued, traces the history and growth of the Sangam and pleads for help.

THE STUDY OF SANSKRIT

Pundit Lingesha Vidyabhushana Vedanta Vachaspati, of Kurtkoti, Dharwar District, Bombay Presidency, has put in a strong plea for the revival of Sanskrit in a pamphlet (printed at the *Times Press*, Bombay) which has been dedicated, by permission, to Lord Sydenham, late Governor of Bombay. In it the Pundit not only suggests modes of reviving the study of Sanskrit in India, but also gives a rough sketch of the subjects covered by Sanskrit literature in general, a topic of absorbing interest, though not strictly germane to the primary aim of the pamphlet. This work is worth perusal by all those who would welcome a renaissance of Sanskrit literature in India.

VEDANTA SUTRAS

Lovers of Sanskrit literature and students of Hindu philosophy are already under a deep debt of obligation to Mr. T. K. Balasubramania Iyer, the proprietor of the Sri Vani Vilas Press, Srirangam, for scores of well-edited and well-printed standard classical publications relating to various departments of knowledge. The latest work which he has put his hand to is a scholarly edition of the Brahma Sutra Bhashya of Sankara, the great Advaita teacher of ancient India, with the standard commentaries of Bhamati of Vachaspati Misra, Kalpataru of Amal nandha and Parimala of Appiah Dikshita. With Mr. Balasubramania Iyer is associated in this undertaking an editorial Committee of four well-known Sanskrit Pundits of Southern India. The work is issued under the patronage of the present head of the Sringeri Mutt, and in monthly or bi-monthly parts to subscribers. The editing, printing and the general get-up are in every way worthy of the Sri Vani Vilas Press.

THE 'VEDANTA KESARI'

This monthly magazine is a welcome addition to Madras periodical literature devoted to Hindu philosophy, metaphysics and religion, and was

started in May last under the auspices of the Ramakrishna Mission, Mysore. Those who believe that the regeneration of India must come through spiritual channels and that the philosophy of the Vedanta is the highest solace of the soul, will find this journal an excellent means for the propagation of their ideals. Several articles dealing with the Hindu religion as preached by Swami Vivekananda both in the West and in the East appear in the May and June numbers, from well-known Indian writers like Professor K. Sundararama Iyer and Mr. K. S. Ramaswami Sastri. Swami Sharvanada, who, as the head of the local Ramakrishna Mission, is responsible for the editing of the journal, may be trusted to conduct it on useful lines. The Mission is engaged not merely in the promotion of the study of abstract philosophy but in practical undertakings of a philanthropic character, such as the elevation of the depressed classes, medical relief and nursing for the destitute sick, the holding of religious classes; and topics of interest bearing on these practical problems will be discussed in the pages of this journal. The annual subscription has been fixed at Rs. 2, in order to place it within the reach of a large number.

THE GODS OF INDIA

In 'The Gods of India' (Dent, 4s. 6d.) Mr. E. O. Martin, who was for some years a missionary in India, has produced a convenient summary of information on the subject. He disclaims originality and indeed his book is very largely based on the work of predecessors; but since there exists no single volume at a reasonable price and of modest size from which the ordinary reader could derive an adequate idea of the Hindu pantheon, Mr. Martin deserves credit. So far as we can judge, the book is in general accurate. Of course, the author cannot be expected to write without heed to the fact that he was a missionary, but he usually avoids comment and he is not slow to do justice to what he regards as the estimable features of Hinduism. The book would have gained from an introductory explanation of what Hinduism is, an explanation only too likely to be needed by readers unacquainted with India and even by some who know India fairly well. But Mr. Martin has done useful work. The numerous illustrations are of considerable merit, and there is a map showing the journeyings of Rama.

SOUTH INDIAN RECORDS

There are some new and interesting features introduced into the Progress Report of the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent of Epigraphy, Southern Circle, for the year 1913-14, which make it of special value to the student of Indian history. The Hon'ble Dewan Bahadur L. D. Swamikannu Pillay's researches in, and critical study of, Indian chronology have been utilized in the examination of important dates in South Indian dynastic

records brought to light during the past two years of exploration work by the department. The result has been very satisfactory, in that we have now two valuable appendices embodied in the Report, which work out in great detail the exact dates in terms of modern chronology from particulars given in the inscriptional records. Mr. Swamikannu Pillai is now engaged in training a member of the Epigraphist's Office, and very soon the department will be able to deal with this branch of work with greater rapidity and efficiency independent of extraneous help. During the year under report Rao Sahib H. Krishna Sastri, the Epigraphist, and his staff, visited 163 villages and copied 354 inscriptions, one of them being a novel record engraved on a conch and presented to a temple about the beginning of the thirteenth century. These with eighty-four epigraphs that were reserved for examination from last year's collection, bring up the total of inscriptions examined and studied during the year to 438. Besides these, twelve copper-plate records were critically studied, these being sent to the Epigraphist from various parts of the country. Among them, one set of plates, of about the ninth century, refers to a charter granted to a number of Brahmins on the occasion of the funeral ceremonies of a prince who is described as being sixteen years old, of 'charming appearance, learned and powerful', and who died in battle after fighting bravely. Another, forwarded from the Guntur District, is a Pallava grant which, despite numerous errors and contradictions, supplies some useful information regarding doubtful points in connexion with the Pallava genealogy of the seventh century.

The second part of the Report is devoted to an examination of the historical materials brought to light during the year, and the inscriptional records recovered are classified according to the various dynasties of the rulers to whom they relate. Among the Pallava records the most notable were copied from the Chidambaram temple, some portions of which are richly decorated and bear on the inner walls fine specimens of images, of which a large number illustrate various dancing postures. Ninety-three illustrations of these are issued with the Report, and they make it of exceptional value for the study of the science of *Bharata Natya Sastra* as expounded in the standard ancient Indian classic on 'Dancing' as a fine art. The Ganga records contain points of interest which will come in useful for the tentative reconstruction of the genealogy of this dynasty between the sixth and eighth centuries. From some of the Chalukya epigraphs of the beginning of the eighth century we gather that the area of land granted was described in terms of the quantity of paddy with which it was sowable, apparently because of the absence of any systematic survey of lands in that period. Most of the inscriptions copied during the year at Chidambaram register grants of land for flower gardens, and in a few cases grants appear also to have been made for maintaining worship, for offerings and festivals in the temple, for eating

houses, for founding streets, etc. It is interesting to notice that all gifts made to the temple were required to be engraved on the walls of the temple, thereby providing public acknowledgement and advertisement.

At a particular period in the history of the temple deeds of grants originally registered in the name of a deity were required to be made in the name of one of the members of the Temple Committee. The change is suggestive of the seizing of power by the members of the Temple Committee in later times to such an extent as to have made them practically the owners of the temple. There appears to have been a Committee in each village, which was solely entrusted with the duty of classifying lands, according to their yielding capacity, and measuring them. The particulars in regard to the lands and their various classifications had to be noted in village and temple registers by clerks specially appointed for the purpose. The Pandyan records gathered from the Chidambaram temple have yielded a wealth of materials relating to the dynastic succession. One of these records gives an elaborate account of the foundation of a new village and the details of arrangements in connexion therewith. Full particulars are also given as to how the village was formed, and how the agricultural land and village site were distributed amongst the inhabitants, village servants and artisans. Mention is made in this record of fruit trees, gardens, ponds, grazing grounds, irrigation channels, uncultivable waste, embankments of fields and pathways, essential features of a well-organized and self-contained Indian village of old.

During the year, the Government of Madras urged the desirability of the early publication of edited texts of important inscriptions. This is eminently a work for those interested in historical research work. Meanwhile, Devasthanam Committees of several of the principal temples in South India might usefully devote a portion of their funds for the preparation of Guide Books, based on the *Sthalapuranas* and the historical materials relating to them brought to light by the inscriptions in which these abound. Hundreds of such inscriptions have been copied, and studied in connexion with the temples of Tanjore, Madura, Conjeeveram and Tiruvottiyur. Prizes might be offered to induce competent students to prepare such Guide Books, which would serve the needs of the pilgrim population who visit the temples in hundreds of thousands.—*Madras Mail*.

NOTES

OLD KINGDOM OF DHEKURA

An interesting discovery has been made by the Burdwan Birbhun Research Society, consisting of buildings and inscriptions containing valuable information relating to the history of the old kingdom of Dhekura, mentioned in the works of the Dharma literature, and the capital of Pratap Singh mentioned in the Ram Charita. Both capitals are in the midst of dense jungle, penetrable only by elephants, and about twenty miles distant from Durgapur railway station. The archaeological expedition had to undergo considerable privations which, however, have been more than compensated by the discoveries. It is believed that these buildings and inscriptions will make a valuable contribution to the knowledge of the eleventh century kingdom, which was ruled over by a ruler of the Bhosh dynasty.

PERSIAN DOMES

At a meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society, Mr. K. A. C. Creswell read a paper on 'The History and Evolution of the Dome in Persia.' Persia, he said, had played a very important part in the evolution of this form of roofing, since the Persians were the first people to devise a satisfactory 'Pendentive,' whereby a really large dome could be set over a square chamber,—a problem the Romans failed to solve. Starting with the pre-Mahomedan period he described the domes of the palaces of Firuzabad and Sarvistan, the former of which he placed before A.D. 230. He thus reversed the usual order of these two palaces, on account of the simple planning of the former, at the same time pointing out that all the structural affinities of Sarvistan were with seventh and eighth century buildings in Mesopotamia. Coming to the period from the rise of Islám to A.D. 1400, he cited the dome of the mausoleum at Sultanieh as the finest example, as it is 84 ft. in diameter and of very scientific shape. After Timur's return from the siege and sack of Damascus, a new type appeared, built with an inner and outer shell, like the dome of St. Paul's. This, the lecturer suggested, was copied from the wooden dome of the Great Mosque at Damascus, which in the fourteenth century had a dome of this type. He also suggested that it came to be adopted, for the sake of its external effect. This dome spread over Persia, and appeared in India in the sixteenth century. In Persia it was either covered

with faience, or, in the case of sacred shrines, with gilded tiles, which, in the clear Persian atmosphere, can sometimes be seen flashing thirty miles away. After 1700 its external outline became fuller, culminating in the bulbous domes built during the last century.

PRINCIPLES OF TANTRA

The Tantra Sastra is of no less antiquity than the Mantra Sastra, and is the source of some of the most fundamental concepts of Hinduism still prevalent as regards worship, images, initiation, yoga and so forth. While the Vedic and Vedantic literatures of India have been among the first to attract the attention of Western Orientalists almost from the dawn of Oriental research, the study of Tantric literature has been not merely not cultivated by them, but an aversion was created in their minds from it, as being puerile, impure and depraved. By prejudices created in the popular mind by some degenerate practices and abuses among some of the followers of the Tantric school, the system has in modern times never been able to attract itself any intelligent study from competent students. In these circumstances, the scholarly work (Luzac & Co., London) of Sri Yukta Shiva Chandra Vidyarnava Bhattacharya Mahodhya, a renowned religious preacher and pundit, on the Tantra Tatva, or the 'Principles of Tantra', with an introduction and commentary by Mr. Arthur Avalon, will meet with a hearty reception at the hands of every one who wishes to probe the secrets of Tantric literature at its source. In Mr. Avalon these mystic writings have found an enthusiastic exponent and a daring investigator, who is determined to disentangle the lofty conceptions of earlier and purer beliefs from much of the misconceptions and misunderstandings which have been allowed to grow around them by the debasing and sensual rites practised in the name of Tantric teachings. This work on the 'Principles of Tantra' promises to become one of the standard authorities in the English language tongue on this ancient Hindu system, a study of which is calculated to bring about a revolution of ideas in regard to it. Every system of knowledge deserves to be read as expounded by the most authoritative students, and we cannot conceive of a more sympathetic and reliable guide to this vast literature than the collaborators of this great work. Mr. Avalon's introduction is a masterly essay on the subject which he has discussed with great lucidity and insight, and gives a coherent view of the fundamental doctrines of the Tantric system.

THE MYTHIC SOCIETY

RULES

1. The Society shall be called the MYTHIC SOCIETY.
2. The Society was formed with the object of encouraging the study of the Sciences of Ethnology, History and Religions, in India and stimulating research in these and allied subjects.
3. Membership shall be open to all European and Indian gentlemen, who may be elected by the Committee.
4. The Society shall be managed by a Committee consisting of a President, Vice-Presidents, an Honorary Treasurer, Joint Honorary Secretaries, three Branch Secretaries, an Editor, and five other members, retiring annually but eligible for re-election.
 - * Any four of the above members to form a quorum.
5. The subscription shall be—
 - (a) For members resident in Bangalore, rupees five per annum.
 - (b) For members resident elsewhere in India, rupees three per annum. These subscriptions are payable on election, or annually, on July 1st. The Honorary Treasurer may recover any subscription which may remain unrecovered at the time the second number of the Journal is issued by sending the second number by V.P.P.

Membership is open to residents in the United Kingdom, the subscriptions being four shillings annually, a remittance of twelve shillings covering subscriptions for three years. Subscriptions from the United Kingdom may be remitted by 'British Postal Order' to the Honorary Treasurer, Mythic Society, Bangalore.

Bona fide students resident in Bangalore will be admitted as members without the right of voting on payment of rupees three per annum.

Ladies may become subscribers on payment of rupees three per annum.
6. The transactions of the Society shall be incorporated and published in a Quarterly Journal which will be sent *free* to all members, and which will be on sale at twelve annas per copy to non-members.
7. There will be nine Ordinary Meetings in each Session, at which lectures will be delivered; due notice being given by the Secretaries.
8. Excursions to places of historical interest will be arranged and intimation thereof given to members.
9. Members may obtain, on application to the Secretaries, invitation cards for the admission of their friends to the lectures.
10. The Annual General Meetings will be held in July.
11. Framing and alteration of Rules rest entirely with the Committee.

F. R. SELL,
Joint Secretary.

THE MYTHIC SOCIETY

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EDITORIAL NOTE

THE Editor of the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society* believes that he voices the feelings of all the members of the Society in offering in their name their heartiest congratulations to His Highness the Yuvaraja of Mysore on the occasion of His Highness having been accorded the high distinction of G.C.I.E.

The Royal House of Mysore and in particular His Highness, the Maharaja and His Highness the Yuvaraja have always evinced a keen and practical interest in the welfare of the Mythic Society and all the members feel personally thankful to His Most Gracious Majesty the King-Emperor for the new distinction conferred on His Highness who has done us the honour to become one of our Honorary Presidents.

It is also a source of intense gratification to the members of the Society to see that their President's name has been included in the last New Year's Honours List. The honour conferred on their President is an honour and an encouragement to the Society and in the name of all the members I have much pleasure in congratulating him on the Kaiser-i-Hind Gold Medal awarded to him by His Most Gracious Majesty the King-Emperor in recognition of a life devoted to religion, philanthropy and science.—*The Editor.*

ADMINISTRATION OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE IN ANCIENT INDIA

धर्म एव हतो हन्ति धर्मो रक्षति रक्षितः ।

तस्मात् धर्मो नहन्तव्यो मा नो धर्मो हतोऽवधात् ॥

Dharma eva hato hanti dharmo rakshati rakshitah
Tasmāt dharmo na hantavyo ma no dharmo hato, vadhit.

MANU, VIII., 15.

‘JUSTICE being violated, destroys; justice being preserved, preserves; therefore, justice must not be violated lest violated justice destroy us.’

This was the Hindu ideal of justice and it is the manner in which they sought to attain it in one of its two branches that is dealt with in this paper.

It is based mainly on Śukranīti-sāra, but wherever necessary, other ancient Hindu works have been drawn upon in order to give a complete account of the code of Ancient Indian Criminal Procedure. A complete Code of Criminal Procedure provides for the constitution of courts of criminal justice, for securing the presence of the offenders so that they may not evade the penalty of the law, for investigating into the offence in a fair and proper manner, and lastly for the conviction and punishment of the offender. It prescribes also measures for the prevention of crimes as far as possible.

A satisfactory and rational system of criminal procedure should protect citizens from false, frivolous and vexatious complaints, and from undue restraint on account of petty offences and it should grant the accused a reasonable and honest trial in which he has every facility to prove his innocence, and should further provide for appeal or revision in cases where injustice has occurred owing to the imperfections of the human machinery. We shall now proceed to note how far the Hindu procedure satisfied these requirements.

In the ancient Hindu books, a court of justice is defined as follows:—

धर्मशास्त्रानुसारेण ह्यर्थशास्त्र विवेचनं ।

यत्राधिक्रियते स्थाने धर्माधिकरणं हितम् ॥

Dharma śāstrānusārenahyārtha śāstra vivechanam
Yatrādhikriyate sthāne dharmādhikaraṇam hi tat.

SUKRANITI, IV., 5-42.

A court of justice is that place where the science of practical life, i.e. the varied interests of men are enquired into and decided according to the

dictates of the Dharmashastras. Such a court had ten requisites according to Śukranīti and Bṛhaspati. But Nārada mentions only eight. The ten requisites¹ are:—

The king, his chosen officer, the assessors, the Smṛiti, the accountant, the scribe, gold, fire, water and the king's servants.

The king's officer is the speaker, i.e. the mouthpiece of the court; the king is the punishing authority and the assessors are the judges of evidence; the Smṛiti gives the law, the accountant makes the calculations, the scribe writes the depositions, gold and fire are for administering ordeals, and water is required for the thirsty and the nervous (a very wise and generous provision indeed).

The king's servants are for enforcing the attendance of the accused and the witnesses.

The king ordinarily presided over the court, but when he could not do so, he was to nominate as his representative a learned Brahmin of high birth, capable of inspiring confidence and respect, and impartial and strict. Failing a qualified Brahmin, a Kshatriya or a Vysia duly qualified could be appointed. Manu permits the appointment of only Brahmins but later writers permit appointment from any of the three Dvija (twice-born) castes.

The Smṛitis and Śukranīti appear to contemplate only small states requiring a single court each. But the books of Bṛhaspati and Kauṭilya appear to have been written after Empire-States had grown up and refer to mofussil courts as well.

The king was, then as now, the fountain of all justice, subject, however, to the dictates of the Śāstras, and his was the court of final appeal in all cases.

The king's courts were, however, not the only places for the administration of justice, nor could they take cognisance of all cases. They adjudged only those offences which were not punished by the councils of the Gaṇas (communities); these interfered only in cases left over by the councils of the Śrēṇis (guilds or corporations) while the kulas (families) settled all affairs which they possibly could, and left for Śrēṇis those which they could not decide.

All Smṛitis and Artha or Nīti Śāstras² agree in prohibiting the king or his judges from trying singly, or in secret, and assessors were all along an indispensable part of the judicial system. But the assessors could not be indiscriminately selected. The doctrine of trial by peers³ found expression in the direction that forest tribes should be tried with the help of their fellow-tribesmen, merchants with that of merchants, soldiers with the help of

¹ Śukranīti, iv. 5, Slokas 36 to 40.

² Manu, viii. 1, Bṛhaspati, vi. 6; Nārada, Rules of Procedure, 14 and Courts of Justice, 18; Śukranīti, iv. 5, lines 12 and 13.

³ Śukranīti, iv. 5, lines 44 to 47; Bṛhaspati, i. 25 and 26.

soldiers and villagers with that of persons living amicably with both parties. Merchants who were judicious were also to be selected as assessors¹ in all cases.

The function of the assessors was also clearly defined. They influenced the trial much more than the modern English jury inasmuch as they had to decide during the course of the trial on which party the burden² of proof lay at every stage. They were however prohibited from interfering with questions in the middle of the trial in the same way as their modern representatives³.

INITIATION OF PROCEEDINGS

As in modern times, it was recognized that the State need not directly take up the prosecution of all kinds of offences.

Similarly the non-cognisable offences were compoundable, on the score that an amicable settlement between the parties is more satisfactory in the case of petty offences, than a criminal conviction and the consequent ill-feeling engendered between the parties.

The king and his judges could enquire into a crime only after the presentation⁴ of a written complaint by the party aggrieved or some⁵ near relative or friend of his.

Cognisance by the court on information laid by Government spies or volunteer informers was allowed⁶ only in the case of Chhalas or misdemeanours (fifty in number), Aparādhas or felonies (twelve in number) and the cases in which the king was himself a party.

Chhalas included⁷ destroying roads, water reservoirs or houses, house-trespass and indecorous behaviour before the king.

Aparadhas included⁸ disobedience of king's orders, murder, adultery, theft and destruction of foetus.

The offences concerning the king included⁹ sedition, counter-feiting king's coin, disclosure of king's secrets, rescuing a prisoner, obstruction of public proclamations and misappropriation of king's taxes.

A criminal trial began therefore by the complainant or the informer presenting his complaint or laying¹⁰ his information before the court.

The complainant was briefly examined¹¹ and his complaint taken¹² down in the character and language that was prevalent. It was signed¹³ by the party and sealed with the royal seal. The cognisability of the complaint was first¹⁴ determined and steps taken thereafter to secure the presence of the accused.

¹ Śukra, iv. 5, line 52.

² Ibid., lines 122-4.

³ Ibid., lines 218-7.

⁴ Ibid., lines 181-2. Manu viii. 43.

⁵ Śukra, iv. 5, lines 220-21.

⁶ Ibid., lines 133-4.

⁷ Ibid., lines 140 to 160.

⁸ Ibid., lines 161 to 164.

⁹ Ibid., lines 165-170.

¹⁰ Śukra iv. 5, line 112.

¹¹ Ibid., lines 123-4.

¹² Ibid., line 119.

¹³ Ibid., line 178.

¹⁴ Ibid., line 182.

SECURING THE PRESENCE OF THE ACCUSED

The accused was to be summoned¹ either by a summons under the Royal Seal, or by a warrant of arrest executed by one of the king's servants.

A complainant about to present his complaint, had² the right also to arrest the accused temporarily, until the receipt of the king's summons, if he suspected that the adversary would evade the trial or would not proceed honestly in the matter.

Certain classes of persons were ordinarily exempt³ from summons and arrest, and were summoned and brought slowly in conveyances only in important cases. These were chiefly, sick people, children, old men, men with varied activities, men busy with the king's affairs, high class ladies of the several castes, women recently delivered of children, agriculturists in the harvest season, cowherds while tending cattle and soldiers in times of war.

Disobedience of the king's summons was punishable⁴ according to the nature of the offence in connexion with which it was issued. Similar punishment was meted out if one escaped⁵ after arrest, or if the person in charge of an accused applied restraint beyond⁶ the recognized limits.

The accused, however, had not long to remain under arrest. For as soon as he appeared or was brought before the king, the king should enquire if he had other engagements, and if so, release⁷ him after taking suitable security for his appearance. But bail was not⁸ allowed in the following cases:—murder, theft, robbery, adultery, abduction, forgery, and sedition. The bail regulations were thus very clear, and unambiguous.

They deserve particular attention as bail is comparatively absent in other systems of ancient law. It began to be recognized in most modern countries, only in the nineteenth century. In England, however, the writ of Habeas Corpus has been long in existence, but it was a costly process, as application had to be made to the Superior Courts or the Lord Chancellor.

As a complainant had to pay compensation to the accused, as in modern times, if his complaint proved false or frivolous, security was taken not only from the accused, but from the complainant⁹ as well.

The trial commenced only after the accused had appeared in Court. It was held entirely in public.

Unlike the ancient procedure in other countries or even the English procedure till the eighteenth century, the accused as well as the complainant had the right¹⁰ to be represented by counsel. And the counsel were appointed by the parties¹¹ themselves and not by the king.

¹ Śukra, iv. 5, lines 195-6.

² Ibid., 184-5; Nārada, 47-8.

³ Ibid., lines 199 to 209.

⁴ Ibid., lines 242-3.

⁵ Ibid., lines 193-4.

⁶ Ibid., lines 191-2.

⁷ Ibid., lines 244-5.

⁸ Ibid., lines 238-41.

⁹ Ibid., lines 249.

¹⁰ Ibid., lines 216-8.

¹¹ Ibid., lines 280.

Friends could¹ also be appointed by the parties to answer queries.

The complainant was again examined in detail in the presence of the accused. He was permitted² to amend his complaint as often as was necessary before the accused replied.

The accused then tenders his reply. If his answer did not cover the entire ground, he was examined by the Court. But he was not subjected to any rigorous cross-examination, as in other ancient countries, in England up to 1848, and in Modern France. The extorting of confessions is expressly prohibited³ in Śukraniti.

Kaṭīya, however, is said to authorize torture after a *prima facie* case has been made out. But the chapter⁴ relating to it is admittedly obscure and the provisions contained therein may refer as much to punishment as to torture before conviction.

After the reply had been given, the assessors decided⁵ on which party the burden of proof lay unless the accused had confessed his guilt in which case further proceedings were stayed⁶.

Bṛhaspati permits the composition of offences by mutual understanding of parties at this stage of this case only and not later.⁷ Similarly mutual reconciliation between the parties is recommended when the evidence is equally strong on both sides, and law and custom divided.

If the case is not decided in one of the above ways, it enters upon the third stage called *kriya*, i.e. investigation of evidence.

Proof was to be obtained by means of three kinds of evidence—documentary, possessory and oral. If these failed, resort was to be had to moral persuasion or timely reminder, *yukti* or argument and lastly ordeals.

We shall now deal with the more important of the rules relating to witnesses.

Witnesses

A witness was defined as a person being other than a party, who knew the facts of the case.

खेतरः कार्यविज्ञानि यस्स साक्षी.

Svëtarah kâryavigñāni yassa sâkshī.

ŚUKRA IV. 5, 364.

This definition embodies the principle that a party is an incompetent witness in his own behalf, which was recognized in England, only so late as the eighteenth century.⁸

Witnesses were to be chosen as far as possible from the caste and race⁹ of the parties and from persons in the same neighbourhood. There were

¹ Śukra, iv. 5, 219.

² Śukra, iv. 5, 313-7.

³ Ibid., 273-4; Bṛhaspati, iii., 15; Nārada Plaint 21.

⁴ Ibid., 309.

⁵ Śukra, i. 593 iv. 5, 123.

⁷ v., 12 and 13.

⁴ Kaṭīya, pp. 218-20; iv. 8.

⁸ Stephens' General View of Criminal Law, p. 45

⁹ 372 Kaṭīya 215 Nārada 1st Title 154 and 15 M VIII 68.

also detailed rules to exclude the evidence of persons of defective understanding, and of those who were¹ specially interested in, or prejudiced against, a party. The evidence of an accomplice was, of course, disallowed under this rule. The competency of witnesses was not, however, to be too closely scrutinized in the case of the following crimes²:—violence, theft, felonies, defamation, assault and kidnapping.

According to Kauṭilya, the parties themselves should produce the witnesses who lived not far from the court; and the attendance of only those who were far away or who would not come of their own accord was to be secured³ by the issue of summons. The witnesses were, in such cases to be paid the costs of their journeys and the defeated party was⁴ to bear the same.

The examination of witnesses took⁵ place in the presence of both parties, and the opposite party had always the right of cross-examination, in order to bring to prominent notice⁶ the defects in the evidence.

Only such evidence as was given spontaneously was to be accepted and not what was got by force.

These wholesome principles which occur so naturally in the Hindu Law were not evolved in other countries till very late.

Before examination, the witness was exhorted⁷ to speak the truth, in a long address extolling the excellence of truth and then the solemn affirmation was administered to him.

Thus the accused also had the right to examine his witness with all due formality—a right which was recognized in England so late as 1848 by Sir John Jervis's Act.

Perjury, suppression of evidence and production of false evidence were all punishable⁸ in the same manner as in modern Criminal Law.

One other important direction⁹ which deserves mention is that the examination of witnesses was not to be delayed, but taken up as soon as they appeared, as delay would give rise to grave defects in genuine evidence, and might lead to miscarriage¹⁰ of justice.

This is particularly interesting as showing that the proverbial law's delays were dreaded as much in those days, as now.

We will now proceed to consider the more important rules relating to ordeals. Speaking of ordeals in Mediaeval England, Palgrave says, 'it was, in fact, only a mode of giving to the culprit a last chance of escaping the punishment of the law'.¹¹ So also Stubbs 'The ordeal being a recourse following the verdict'¹² of the jury acquainted with the facts, could only be

¹ Śukra, iv. 5, 377-82.

² Ibid., 375-6. Manu, viii. 72.

³ Kauṭilya, p. 177 (Sanskrit edition).

⁴ Ibid., p. 149.

⁵ Śukra, iv. 5, 386.

⁶ Śukranīti 322, and 285-6.

⁷ Śukra, iv. 5, 398-418; Manu, viii, 88-101.

⁸ 332-6 and 337.

⁹ 328-9.

¹⁰ 334-6.

¹¹ Commonwealth, ii. 177.

¹² Select charters, sixth edition, 142.

applied to those who were to all intents and purposes proved to be guilty'. But Theyer condemns these observations¹ as based on a misconception of the fundamental principle of the ordeal and regards it as 'simply a mode of trial; or as they phrased it in those days, of clearing one's self of a charge'.

A study of the rules regulating the ordeals in ancient India however, brings out irresistibly the justice of the remarks of Palgrave and Stubbs.

An ordeal, according to Hindu Law, was administered to the accused, and that only when the complainant agreed² to abide by the result if the ordeal went against him. The accuser should never be called upon to undergo it. He was, however, given the option to undergo it in case the accused consented³ to be punished if the ordeal went against him.

Further it could be resorted to, only if all other means of ascertaining the truth failed,⁴ e.g. Manu says

असाक्षिकेषु त्वर्थेषु मिथो विवदमानयोः ।

अविन्दन्तवतः सत्यं शपथेनापि लम्भयेत् ॥

Asākshikeshu thvartheshu mitho vividamanayoḥ |
Avidantatvataḥ satyam śapathēnāpi lambhayet. ||

'If two parties disputed about matters for which no witnesses were available and the (judge) was unable to really ascertain the truth, he might cause it to be discovered even by an oath (and ordeals). Nārada prohibits the application of ordeals in the case of offences which had taken place by day, in a village or town, or in the presence of witnesses.

And if one party urged human evidence, and the other divine, i.e. an ordeal, Śukranīti ordains that the former should be preferred and not the latter.⁵

यद्येको मानुषीं ब्रूयादन्यो ब्रूयात्तु दैविकां ।

मानुषीं तत्र गृह्णीयात् न तु दैवीं क्रियां नृपेः ॥

यद्येकदक्षप्राप्तापि क्रिया विद्येत मानुषी ।

सा ग्राह्या नतु पूर्णापि दैविकी वदतां नृणां ॥

Yadyēko mānushīm brūyad anyo brūyāt tu daivikam |
Mānushīm tatra grhṇīyāt na tu daivīm kriyām nṛpāḥ ||
Yadyekadēcapraptāpe kriya vidyēta manushī |
Sā grāhya na tu purṇāpi daivikī vadatām nṛṇām ||

(iv 5, 263 and 264.)

¹ Anglo-American Legal History. Article on *Older Modes of Trial*, p. 326.

² Śukra, iv. 5, lines 495-6; 498-4; Nārada Quotations, vi. 2 and 4.

³ Ibid., 497.

⁴ 460; Manu viii. 109.

⁵ 525-6.

Similarly if there be human evidence which covers only a part of the case, even that is to be accepted, and not the divine though that covers the full ground, and notwithstanding that men urge it.

We thus see that ordeals were ordinarily resorted to only when all other means of ascertaining the truth had failed, and when the judge was *unable to come to a decision otherwise*. From a consideration of these two propositions it follows that no accused person could be called upon to undergo an ordeal, unless there was a *prima facie* case against him, and he asserted his innocence without being able to substantiate it. The ordeal was, in such circumstances, neither more nor less than the last chance given to the accused with the presumption of guilt against him, to escape the punishment of the law; or a test resorted to in cases where there was very strong ground for suspicion but full legal proof was lacking.

There were, however, certain cases¹ in which owing either to the absence of any evidence or to the heinous nature of the crime, an ordeal had invariably to be resorted to. They were offences committed in a forest, in a solitary place, at night, or in an inner apartment, in cases involving mortal sins and thefts of deposits. A few particulars regarding the ordeals themselves will not be out of place in order to prove that the popular notions about the dangers involved in an ordeal apart from its indifferent probative value are unduly exaggerated.

In the first place it is noteworthy that certain classes² of persons who could not stand the strain of an ordeal were exempted from it, e.g. the sick, those affected with a heavy calamity, and women. Some other classes³ of people were exempt from particular ordeals which would cause them undue suffering. And further each of the ordeals had a particular season⁴ or seasons when alone they could be administered, e.g. the ordeal by water was prohibited during the rains and that by fire during summer.

Finally none of the ordeals endangered human life to any degree. The worst that could happen to a person subjected to an ordeal was a few days' illness or suffering.

The more severe of the ordeals were those by fire, water and poison, the first consisted⁵ merely in the accused walking seven steps with a red hot iron ball in his hand, the hand being previously covered with seven fig leaves. That by water consisted⁶ in his being under water, if he could, for a time, sufficient for one to run up and fetch an arrow shot from a bow not being

¹ Śukra iv. 5, 498-9. Bṛhaspati x. 1 to 3. Nārada, Quotation vi. 3.

² Nārada, Quotations vi. 8.

³ Ibid., 9 to 11 and 73.

⁴ Ibid., 12 to 15.

⁵ Ibid., 44 to 47.

⁶ Ibid., 55 to 67.

further than 150 Hastas¹ distant; while that by poison consisted² in giving him a very minute quantity³ of the poison from the Sṛnga plant and noting if he suffered from its effects, e.g. vomiting during the rest of the day.⁴ From these, it will be clear that the use of the ordeal in Hindu courts was by no means such a cruel and rough and ready method of administering justice, as is commonly assumed to have been the case.

As regards the finding and the decision, a few points deserve to be noticed. A complaint was dismissed if the complainant prevaricated, varied from his complaint or delayed production of evidence under false pretences. A frivolous or false complaint was not only dismissed but the complainant⁵ was made to make reparation to the accused, as in modern Criminal Procedure.

In all cases other than those in which the accused confessed his guilt, the assessors were to make clear⁶ the inner meaning of the evidence at the proper time; and the king (or in his absence the Chief Judge) after a careful consideration of the entire case⁷ passed judgment according to the Shastras.

I do not propose to deal now with the relative value which was to be attached in this connexion to the Smritis, dictates of prudence or equity and local customs. But it is important to note that the king was ordained to respect⁸ local customs even though they were antagonistic to the Shastras and was warned against following too literally the letter of the law.

The special circumstances of each case and all tenuous circumstances were also to be considered carefully⁹ before passing sentence.

The final decision was to be written down in all cases,¹⁰ and a copy delivered to the successful party in token of his success.

The system of punishment in Ancient India has, in common with that of other ancient countries, the notoriety of having been extremely severe. And severe it certainly was, judging merely from the punishment specified for particular offences by Manu and Kautilya. But several salutary provisions were recognized which mitigated greatly the severity of the substantive code.

¹ A *Hasta* is twenty-four angulas or eighteen inches. The maximum distance will then be 225 feet or 75 yards. Doubts have been expressed in certain quarters that this is a later interpolation; but as we are concerned with the latest development in Hindu procedure, this does not affect our reasoning.

² Nārada, Quotations, 71 to 79.

³ Seven yavas. A yava is a grain of barley.

⁴ Another version is 'Within the time occupied by clapping the hands 500 times.'

The accused was also to be given antidotes as soon as the period was over for guilt or innocence to be ascertained.

⁵ Nārada, 56-8; Manu, viii. 53, Sukra, iv. 5, lines 561-2.

⁶ Sukra, iv. 5, line 833.

⁷ Ibid., lines 92-3.

⁸ Ibid., line 835.

⁹ Sukra, 535-6; Brahaspati, ii. 13.

¹⁰ Sukra, iv. 5, lines 559-60.

Punishment was of four kinds, i.e. moral disapprobation (दिग्दण्ड), oral chastisement or severe reproof (वाग्दण्ड), fines and corporal punishment and it is the forms of inflicting corporal punishment that has been subjected to damaging criticism. But the ordinary judges could inflict only the first two, and the king alone¹ could fine or inflict corporal punishment.

Secondly even the king was directed to inflict each of the above successively and not all at once, and corporal chastisement was to be resorted² to only after the other three had failed to correct an offender. Further, punishment was to be inflicted in all cases *in due proportion to the nature of the offence and after ascertaining the ability of the criminal to bear it.*³ Thus the great responsibility invariably resting on a modern judge in fixing the punishment was not absent in those days.

But one who was convicted on his own confession was to be subjected to only one-half of punishment to which he was otherwise liable; and ancient Hindu Law the one aim of which was the destruction of the criminal instinct and impulses and the advancement of morality recognized *the value of repentance* in a direct and straightforward manner, unfamiliar to the modern world.

Besides these rules, there existed also a very carefully graduated scale of punishment, beginning with moral disapprobation or the fine of a few panas⁴ or annas (?) and leading up to the highest penalty of the law, i.e. death, in the worst cases.

The law relating to punishment, and in fact, the entire substantive portion of Criminal Law has been critically dealt with by a learned writer in the *Calcutta Weekly Notes*, Vol. XV. (1810-11). I do not, therefore, propose to describe in detail the graduated scale of punishment ordained in the several law books. I will, however, give a few other points specially treated in Sukraniti, which, in this and other matters, contains the most advanced and liberal precepts. According to it the severer forms of punishment were⁵ starvation, imprisonment, whipping, expulsion from the state, marking on the body, shaving of half portions, causing the accused to ride ignoble animals (e.g. asses), mutilation and execution. And this work lays⁶ more stress on the fear engendered by the possibility of punishment than on the actual punishment itself.

Severity⁷ of punishment is condemned as it estranges the subjects from the king, and mild⁸ punishment discretely administered is declared far more

¹ Sukra, iv. 5, lines 547-8.

² Manu, viii. lines 129 and 130.

³ Manu, viii. 126, Bruhaspati, ii. 2 to 17 and vi. 2; Narada Punishments, 33.

⁴ A coin equal in value to eighty cowries.

⁵ Sukra, iv. 1, lines 88-91.

⁶ Ibid., lines 92-98. ⁷ Ibid., lines 105 and 189-90. ⁸ Ibid., lines 106-7.

efficacious. Mercy¹ is extolled as higher than punishment and severity² is authorized only in the case of habitual offenders.

Great importance is attached³ to the probation of first offenders especially if they happen to be people who are ordinarily virtuous.

Even in the case of the worst class of offenders committing the worst offences,⁴ *other than intentional murder*, capital punishment was not allowed. For the punishment prescribed for such an offender is as follows :—

उत्तमं साहसं कुर्वन्नधमो दण्डमर्हति ।

मयमसाहसं चादौ यथोक्तं द्विगुणं ततः ।

यावज्जीवं बंधनं च नीचकर्मैव केवलं ॥

Uttamam sāhasam kurvan adhamodandamarhati,
Madhyamam sāhasam chadeu yathoktam dvigunam tatah
Yavājjivām bandhanam cha nīcha karmaiva kēvalam.

Similarly

नीचकर्मकरं कुर्याद्विधयित्वा तु पापिनं ।

मासमात्रं त्रिमासं वा षण्मासं वापि वत्सरं ।

यावज्जीवं तु वा कश्चित् न कश्चिद्वधमर्हति ॥ 86 ॥

न निहन्याच्च भूतानि त्विति जागर्तिवै श्रुतिः ।

तस्मात् सर्वप्रयत्नेन वधदण्डं त्यजेन्नृपः ॥

Nīchakarmakaram kuryad bandhayitwa tu pāpinam
Masa matram trimasam vā ṣaṣṭamasam vāpi vatsaram
Yavājjivām tu vā kaçhit na kaçchidvadhamarhati
Na nihanyachcha bhutani tviti jagarti vai srutih
Tasmāt sarvaprayatnēna vadha dandam tyajet nrīpah.

From these it is quite clear that the punishments fixed in the Codes of Manu and Kauṭilya were only the maximum penalties and that their chief object was the deterrent effect which they would have on criminals and they were rarely availed of in the same manner as in modern times. I may also add that Śukranīti does not contemplate, to any marked degree, special leniency towards the superior castes or severity in the case of the lowest caste. It classifies offenders according to their own qualities and the nature of the offence and distinction between the castes in awarding punishments is recognized only in cases of defamation and adultery.

It is commonly stated that imprisonment was not as prevalent in ancient India as mutilation and execution. The learned writer in the *Calcutta Weekly Notes* also regards the comparative absence of imprisonment as a

¹ Śukra, 108-11.

² 144-46 and 155-8.

³ Ibid., 131.

⁴ 153; iv. 1, 170-2.

feature of ancient criminal administration. But Śukraniti is full of references to imprisonment, prisons and prison-labour. In fact this is the only form of corporal punishment which it appears to advocate most.¹ Banishment and transportation are also mentioned, as the severer forms to be used² in more heinous crimes or in the case of persons whose presence meant danger to the commonwealth. Mutilation is only incidentally referred to. Thus roads are spoken of as repaired with gravel by prisoners and the king is directed³ to employ each prisoner according to his caste.⁴ And again the prisoners are referred to as bound in chains (i.e., handcuffed)⁵ and employed in repairing roads.

Nor is Kautilya wanting in detailed references to prisoners and in instructions as to their custody. The elaborate rules for the punishment of jailors who allow prisoners to escape, deliberately or through negligence and the frequent references to imprisonment as punishment for several offences go to prove that imprisonment was a common enough punishment in ancient India.

The fact seems to be that in primitive times, the penal law was as severe here as elsewhere, and that, as civilization progressed, the rigour of those codes was mitigated by more humane and equitable rules. But I cannot emphasise too strongly that this stage was reached in India much earlier than in other countries.

When in addition it is remembered that until the beginning of the nineteenth century theft of any thing worth more than a shilling was punishable with death in England, we can realize how unjust it is to level a charge of brutality against the penal laws of the Hindus as the maximum penalties prescribed by them were not only less severe in themselves than the English code of the eighteenth century and the ancient codes of other countries but were, in actual application, circumscribed by various salutary rules.

Appeal and Revision

It would indeed be strange if, in a law so elaborate and thorough as that described above, provision were lacking for appeal or revision in cases where miscarriage of justice had occurred or was suspected to have occurred.

We accordingly find provisions for an appeal both in Śukraniti and in Nārada Smṛti.⁶

तीरितं चानुशिष्टं च यो मन्येत विधर्मतः ।

द्विगुणं दण्डमाधाय पुनस्तत् कार्यमुद्धरेत् ॥

Tritam chanuśiṣṭam chayomanyēta vidharmataḥ |

Dvigunam daṇḍamādhāya punarētat kāryamuddharēt ||

¹ IV., l. 152, 155 to 72.

² l. 215-6.

³ Chap. I., l. 536-7.

⁴ l. 217-18.

⁵ l. 229-30.

⁶ l. 549-50.

'He who objects to the judgment and the sentence as against Dharma, can have a retrial on depositing double the prescribed fine.'

साक्षिसम्यावसन्नानां दूषणे दर्शनपुणः ।

स्वचर्यावसतीनांच प्रोक्तः पौनर्मवोविधिः ॥

Sākshisabhyāvasannānām dūshanē darśanam puṇaḥ |
Sva charyā vasatīnām cha prōktaḥ paunarbhavo vidhiḥ ||

'A retrial or appeal will also arise in cases which have been vitiated by undue pressure on the witnesses and assessors, and also by defects in the king's own procedure.'

The king had also to revise the judgments in cases in which an Amātya or Chief Judge had decided customs by law. Similarly if it had been decided on the complaint of a woman, or decided at night, outside of a village, or in the interior of a house.

But no appeal lay against convictions based on confession, or in cases lost through one's own conduct, e.g. by the production of false evidence, or in cases wherein the guilt was proved *beyond doubt*.

These provisions are indeed remarkable as showing the high degree of perfection attained in judicial procedure in India, in the pre-Mahamadan era, and also the thoroughness with which administrative questions were solved in ancient India. In contrast to this, it may not be irrelevant to mention that there was no provision in the English Law for appeals until the Criminal Appeals Statute of 1907 was passed, and that the only remedy of the parties against erroneous decisions consisted in petitioning the Crown for the exercise of the prerogative of mercy.

Nor were the ancient Hindus satisfied merely with providing appeals. Just decisions were also sought to be secured by the punishment of judges and assessors who decided wrongly, or who did not conduct the trials in the proper manner. Such a provision is peculiar to Hindu Law and it would indeed be interesting to get independent evidence as to what effect it had on the authorities concerned.

अमात्यः प्राद्विवाको वा ये कुर्युः कार्यमन्वया ।

तत्सर्वं नृपतिः कुर्यात् तान् सहस्रं तु दण्डयेत् ॥

Amatyah prādvivāko vā ye kuryuḥ kāryamanyathā |
Tat sarvaṁ nṛpatiḥ kuryāt tān sahasraṁ tu daṇḍayēt ||

ŚUKRANĒTI iv. 5, 277.

Whoever, an Amātya or Chief Judge, decides a case contrary to law, the king shall try it again, while he shall be fined a thousand (*panas*).³

¹ 653-4.

² Nārada, ii. 41.

³ Cf. also Manu, viii. 12, 14 and 18 where the guilt is said to attach to the witnesses, the Judge and the King if the accused is not punished. Nārada Rules of Procedure, 67, and also Śukranāti, lines 178-81.

But no system of criminal procedure is complete unless it provides for the prevention and detection of crimes as far as possible, and for safe-guarding the public peace from the inroads of criminal gangs or undesirable characters.

This sketch of ancient Criminal Procedure will therefore be closed after referring to a few precautionary measures adopted in those early days for the prevention and detection of crime.

According to Kauṭilya, the following persons among others were to be arrested on suspicion, and committed to prison lest they perpetrate crimes¹—persons having no ostensible means of livelihood or having slender means, those who frequently change their residence, caste, and the names not only of themselves but of their family (*gotra*), who conceal their avocations, who travel singly (lurk) in solitary places like forests and mountainous tracts, who hold secret meetings in lonely places, who lurk in the dark behind walls, etc., who purchase suspicious articles in suspicious places or at suspicious times, and those who have acquired notoriety by their crimes.

Śukranīti, however, is less stringent and authorizes detention in the following cases only.

One whose activities are secret, one who lives on alms though capable of collecting wood and grasses,² (i.e. of earning his livelihood by honest labour), one who wanders about leaving his parents and family, and one who pursues penances and learning without maintaining relatives.

This, by the way, throws some light on the social life of those times, as it reveals that able-bodied beggars were not, in those days, viewed with the same tolerant spirit and a notion of mistaken charity as in modern Hindu society, and that asceticism or monasticism was considered to be an evil unless kept under due restraint, and led to families being left destitute.

There were also certain salutary regulations for discovery of stolen property.

Information regarding such articles as are lost or stolen should, if they were not found, be supplied to all those who traded in similar articles, and all traders were forbidden from concealing such articles if received by them, on pain of being condemned as abettors.

Similarly no person was to purchase or accept as pledge any old or second-hand article, without giving previous intimation to the Superintendent of Commerce. And possession of stolen articles raised, according to all authorities, a presumption of theft or abetment of it, could be rebutted only by adequate explanation.

In modern law, however, possession of such articles immediately or very soon after the crime, alone raises such a presumption.

Nor were these the only precautionary measures. Inquests in cases of sudden or suspicious deaths were also prescribed.

¹ Chāṇakya, pp. 212-3.

² Śukranīti, iv. 1, lines 290-10.

Elaborate rules were laid down for the examination of the dead bodies and the symptoms usually to be found in the case of such kinds of murder were given. The relatives of the deceased, and the witnesses, if any, were to be examined closely about the several circumstances relating to the death and the possible motives for the murder.

The above sketch of the Code of Criminal Procedure of ancient Hindus is by no means exhaustive, but I have attempted to bring out in it, all its prominent features. In adjudging its place in comparative jurisprudence, it has to be remembered that criminal procedure, as we now understand it, was perfected only during the nineteenth century. Even in England, which possesses now, probably the best of all modern systems, the safeguards ensuring a fair trial to the accused came to be fully recognized only so late as 1820 to 1848. On the contrary the code described in this paper, was what obtained in India more than fifteen to nineteen centuries ago, and is older than the institutes of Justinian. The wonder, therefore, is not so much that it has so many crudities, but that most of the modern principles embodied in the English system are found in it, in a more or less developed form. It has, however, to be added that the paper is based wholly on codes of moral and administrative laws, and that further researches in more popular literature and the writings of independent witnesses, is necessary to find out how far these codes were varied from, in actual practice.

A. V. RAMANATHAN.

A SHORT NOTICE OF ŚUKRANĪTĪ

This work was first printed under the auspices of His Highness the Holkar, in Alibag, by Ramachandra Govinda Shastri. But the first notable edition was that published by Dr. Gustav Oppert in 1882 under the auspices of the Madras Government. Another edition was brought out in 1890 by Jivananda Vidyasagar of Calcutta. An English translation of this work by Professor Benoy Kumar Sarkar forms Vol. XIII of the Sacred Books of the Hindus, published by the Pāṇini Office, Allahabad.

The work that we now have is a compendium of the rules of polity as taught by the school of Uśanas of Śukra. This school of thought existed from very ancient times. Śukra's work on polity is referred to in the Mahābhārata and is freely quoted by Kauṭilya in his *Arthaśāstra* and by his epitomist Kāmandaka in his *Nītisāra*.

Quotations from Śukranīti are also found in Panchatantra and other works. Most of those quotations are found in the work now extant, thus proving its authenticity. But it does not appear easy to contend that Śukra nītisāra, as we now have it, is older than the other works mentioned above. Dr. Oppert, however, appears to claim that this is the case. In support of his contention he has adduced the additional reason that several archaisms

exist which contravene the rules of Pāṇini and which accordingly point to the probability that it is anterior to Pāṇini. (But this may be explained away by arguing that the slokas in which they occur represent the accepted tenets of the Śukra school verified before the time of Pāṇini and which would necessarily be incorporated even in a compendium written later on.)

A fuller development of this theme will be found in Dr. Oppert's introduction to his edition of Śukranīti and in the second chapter of the Monograph on the Weapons of ancient Hindus.

But though all that Dr. Oppert claims may be legitimately conceded to the Śukra school of thought, it does not appear easy to concede very great antiquity to the work now extant. On the other hand some of the principles embodied in it go to prove that this work represents a higher stage in the evolution of Hindu society than those depicted in the other works. Thus it is curious that none of the several quotations from Śukra's nīti found in other works bears upon those provisions of Śukra nītisāra which belong essentially to a later stage of society e.g. the determination of caste by merit and not by birth, the constitutional checks on the king's conduct, the eligibility of all castes for appointment to offices and the suggestion that officers should as far as possible be appointed from among men of the same caste as the king (which implies that the kings were not always of the Kshatriya caste when this work was compiled) the prohibition against extorting confessions, the provisions about the employment of lawyers and the fixing of their fees and the liberal regulations about bail.

These and various other provisions some of which have been mentioned in the course of the paper, lead me to think that the work as we have it, was compiled in the heyday of Hindu civilization about the seventh or eighth century of the Christian era. And I find that I am not alone in this belief, for a talented writer in the *Modern Review*, Mr. Kashiprasad Jayaswal, is also of the same opinion (vide his Introduction to Hindu Polity in the *Modern Review*, August, 1913). Certain conjectures can also be raised from the statement that the work was written at the requests of Asuras but this I reserve for another occasion.

As regards the locality where Śukranīti was accepted as authority, it appears reasonable to suppose that it was respected and its tenets followed as far as practicable throughout India, subject of course, to the later development of Hindu thought consequent on the influx of a large number of hostile foreigners in the land. This appears to be borne out by the fact that manuscripts of the work not much different from each other have been found in such widely distant places like Madras, Vizianagaram, Berhampore (Bengal) and in Indore (His Highness the Holkar's Territory).

Professor Benoy Kumar Sarkar is bringing out a very elaborate study of Śukranīti entitled 'The positive Background of Hindu Sociology' (Vol. XVI of the Sacred Books of the Hindus). Only the first instalment of it has been published.

EXTRACTS

THE AYURVEDA AND MEDICAL INDUSTRIES IN INDIA

[From the Presidential Address on Indigenous Medicine by Major B. D. Basu, I.M.S. (retired), delivered at Amritsar, January, 1914]

'THE term Āyurveda denotes etymologically the science of life, but as the Hindu sages understood it, is more comprehensive than the modern term biology, unless we take the latter in the sense implied in the Spencerian scheme of Synthetic Philosophy. Āyurveda is the science dealing with the life of plants, the life of animals and the life of human beings. *Vṛikshāyurveda* or Botany, *Hastyāyurveda* or Palakapya Śāstra, *Aśvāyurveda* or Śalihotra Śāstra, as well as the celebrated *Aṣṭāṅga hṛidaya*, are the various branches of this vast science—comprising the study of botanical, zoological and human anatomy, physiology, pathology, therapeutics, as well as mineralogy, chemistry, physiography, climatology and other physical sciences that directly or indirectly touch the sphere of life or world of living beings. To be a specialist in Āyurveda means according to the recognized standard of our ancient forefathers, the possession of all the qualifications, (if not more) than the highest medical degree holder of a modern German, American or English University is expected to acquire in both theoretical and practical fields; with this difference that the Hindus had to receive a little more of humane and liberal culture, e.g.—lessons in philosophy, metaphysics and theology along with the healing art.'

'Āyurveda is a very comprehensive science—you cannot define it by comparing its scope and province with those of any one of the differentiated and specialized sciences that constitute the great medical learning of the modern world.'

The following extract from *The Calcutta Review* (of 1879) is also found in the above address:—

'The resuscitation of Indian medical science is a noble and useful work which ought to be performed by educated Hindus. . . . It is perfectly true

that Indian drugs ought to be largely studied and used by medical practitioners in this country. European medical men fully admit this truth and some of them have laboured earnestly and assiduously to accomplish this object. But it is easy to understand that the efforts of foreigners must be necessarily imperfect and unproductive of adequate results. Upon educated Indian members of the profession, therefore, devolves this great and solemn duty, for it is they alone who can discharge it adequately and well. *In India the foreign and the indigenous systems ought to be read together if full benefit is to be derived from either.*

'The following methods should be adopted for the study of indigenous drugs:—

1. Proper steps should be taken to identify the plants used medicinally by the people of this country. For this purpose the medicinal plants should be arranged and classified according to Hooker's Flora of British India. The Sanskrit and vernacular synonyms should also be given the importance they deserve. As far as possible the plants should be illustrated, as this will considerably help in their identification.

2. The uses of these medicinal plants should be recorded. The uses to which they were put by the Hindu and the Greco-Arabic schools of practitioners, the supposed action attributed to them by the rustics and villagers, and the purposes for which they are employed by other nations should be considered.

3. The chemistry of these plants should be thoroughly investigated. This will help us in isolating the alkaloids and active principles on which the efficacy of a drug depends. This will moreover help us in weeding out the worthless from the good among the drugs.

4. Lastly, we should try these remedies in health and disease and thus note their effects.

The study of indigenous drugs has engaged the attention of some of the most eminent men of the medical profession in India. But a great deal more remains to be yet done.'

"It must be admitted that our ignorance of the properties and uses of indigenous drugs is scarcely pardonable. It seems highly desirable that the whole subject should be gone into with greater care than has yet been done, both with the view of weeding out the worthless from the good, and of preparing the way for a number of the better class native drugs taking the place of some of the more expensive and imported medicines of Europe. It seems remarkable that so large an amount of aconite should be collected in Nepal and exported to Europe, in order to be reimported into India before it can find its way to the poor people who crowd around our dispensaries. Illustrations of a similar nature can be multiplied indefinitely. *Atropa Belladonna* the deadly night-shade, for example, is a common weed on the Himalayas

from Simla to Kashmir; yet every ounce of the drug used in India is imported from Europe, the Indian plant having apparently been entirely overlooked.'—*Indian Medical Gazette*.

Such in fact is the neglected condition of Indian medicinal plants. If only an earnest attempt is made in Indian centres to preserve the annual yield of these plants wherever they may be found or grown abundantly and to convert the same into convenient medicines suitable for Indian patients (according to the most recent scientific methods), a large number of *New Medical Industries* will be started in India.—M.I.N.

HINDU IDEAS ON MECHANICS

BY DR. BRAJENDRA NATH SEAL, M.A., Ph.D. (*Calcutta*).

The principle of the *Differential Calculus* applied to the computation of motion (variable motion):—

'Bhāskara (A.D. 1150) in computing what he calls the "instantaneous" motion (तात्कालिकी गतिः) of a planet compares its successive positions in two successive instants, and regards the motion as constant during the interval which he conceives to be indefinitely small (सूक्ष्मकाल). This is equivalent to the determination of the differential of the planet's longitude, and the process bears "a strong analogy" (to quote the words of Mr. Spottiswoode, the Astronomer Royal) "to the corresponding process in modern mathematical astronomy". I have elsewhere shown that Bhāskara's process was not merely analogous to, but virtually identical with, that of the Differential Calculus, Mr. Spottiswoode's cautious reservation having been due to his want of acquaintance with the original, and the insufficiency of the materials placed before him. (*Vide* my paper on the Mechanical, Physical and Chemical Theories of the Hindus in Dr. P. C. Ray's *Hindu Chemistry*, Vol. ii, pp. 158-163).'

SOME LEGENDS OF TIRUCHENGODE

THE little town of Tiruchengode lies about five miles from Sankaridrug railway station, in the south of Salem District. The picturesque peak, from which the town derives its name, rises to a height of 1,900 ft. above sea-level. The great temple of Ardhanaŗisvara, which is its chief glory, is rich in history, as well as in legend, for it possesses lithic records which range in date from the tenth to the eighteenth century of the Christian era.

The word Tiruchengode means 'holy-ruddy-peak', and the hill is believed to be a fragment of the Himālayas, dislodged by Vāyu, the wind god, in his contest with Adisēsha, the serpent king, whose blood has tinged the rock with red. Another legend tells how the peak of Tiruchengode was set up by Kāma-Dhēnu, the celestial cow, who received it from Siva. Thus the hill is associated with both male and female elements, the peak stained with the serpent king's blood, and the peak set up by the divine cow, a union typical of the mystical union of Siva and Pārvati in the form of Ardhanaŗisvara.

Pārvati, it is said, prayed to be made one in body with Siva. Siva promised to grant the boon if she made further *tapas* on Tiruchengode hill. This she did, and became united with her lord in the form of Ardhanaŗisvara ('the Lord-who-is-half-woman'). Hence the right half of the idol on the hill is male in form, the left half female; and it is decked with a cloth, the right half of which is white, and the left half green.

The symbolism of this mystic union is explained in the parable of Bringi, the rishi, who worshipped Siva alone, and would not worship Pārvati, because he held that a goddess is inferior to a god. Pārvati resented this, and, at her request, Siva allowed her to be close by his side. The rishi, in worshipping Siva, must walk round the god. When he found Siva and Pārvati side by side, he was at a loss to know how he could walk round Siva without walking round Pārvati also, and so worshipping her against his principles; so he converted himself into a bee, and passed through the space between the neck of Siva and the neck of his wife. Pārvati, in wrath, cursed the rishi, and deprived him of his strength. The rishi was about to fall, when Siva stayed him by granting him a third leg. The rishi now knew that the Sun, Siva, is as nothing without the rays (Sakti, or energy, i.e. Pārvati), which give him warmth and heat, and he thenceforth worshipped god and goddess together.

Ardhanārīśvara's merits are extolled in the local legend of Baktrapāthātūli, to whom the god had granted a son, as a reward for many years of penance. Unfortunately the child was dumb, and, after five years, the unhappy father placed the child in front of the wheel of the god's car at the annual festival. Miraculously the wheel missed the child's head, and the child cried out and from that moment was cured of his affliction. Another story is told of a Brahman infant of Shiyāli (Tanjore District), who was fed with milk in a golden cup by Pārvati while its father was bathing in the Brahma Tīrtham there. The father, his ablutions finished, espied the golden cup, and realized that a god had intervened. He went therefore on a pilgrimage to many shrines. When he came to Tiruchengōde, a severe form of fever was creating havoc in the town. The child sang a sacred stanza, and the fever was stayed. The child was henceforth known as Tiru-gnāna-sambandha-mūrti, and to this day the most efficacious remedy for disease is to smear the sacred ashes in the child's name and repeat the stanza sung by him. During the plague epidemic of 1904 the figure of Tiru-gnāna-sambandha was carried in procession through the streets, and the magic stanza reiterated, and the plague abated.

The ritual observed in the worship of Ardhanārīśvara is unusual. The idol is about 6 ft. in height and of the colour of ivory. During *ashtōttaram* and *sahasra-nāmam archanai*, *pūjā* is performed to the right half and the left half of the idol separately, and the worshippers receive both *vibhūthi* and *kumkumam* (i.e. the sacred ashes of Siva, and the red powder of Pārvati). There is no oil *abishēkam*, and the idol is bathed with water brought from the Kāvēri only at the midday *pūjā*. Three lights are kept burning day and night in the *garbhagriham*. The duty of performing *pūjā* is confined to twenty-two Brahman households, residing in the town, each household taking its turn once in twenty-two days, and receiving as remuneration the *dakṣhaṇai* (fees) paid by worshippers for that day. The representatives of six only of these twenty-two households are qualified (by hereditary right, after performing *Achāryā-abhishēkam*) to touch the idol. In these six households the sons are called by their fathers' names, contrary to the usual Hindu practice. Three of them (Subramanya Gurukkal, Sādāsiva Gurukkal and Nāgagiri Paṇḍitar), belong to the Alambhāyana Gōtram and the other three to the Kāyaspā Gōtram. The Nāgagiri Paṇḍitars, for many generations, have been employed for the *Kumbhabhishēkam* ceremony in Madura, Tiruvalūr, Karūr and Trichinopoly. All the twenty-two families live in Southern Car Street, the houses of the six premier families, which are dignified by the name of *maṭams*, being distinguished by a figure of Vignēsvara set up in the front pial.

The festival of Ardhanārīśvara in Vaiyāsi (May-June) is one of the most frequented in the district. The god spends ten days in the town, visiting the various *maṭapams*, etc., and staying at night in the Kailāsanātha Temple. On the eleventh day he must return to the hill, even though the car,

through some accident, be unable to complete its circuit. In Purattāsi a festival is held during the twenty-one days preceding Mahālaya Amāvāsai, in commemoration of the penance of Pārvati which won her incorporation with Siva. The celebrations are confined to the hill. Worshippers, who fast during this period, wear twenty-one strands of country yarn dyed with termeric, on the right wrist if they are males, and on the right upper arm if they are females. *Pūjā* is performed with twenty-one different kinds of flowers, and offerings are made of twenty-one different varieties of cakes, in making which no salt may be used. On Mahālaya Amāvāsai itself the god is carried round the *prākāram* of the hill temple on a silver *Śapparam* (litter). On the full moon day of Kārtigai (November-December), a curious ceremony takes place at a spot a little less than 200 yards west of the temple. A structure, roughly representing a cow, about fifteen feet in height, is built up of branches of *unjai*, and deluged by the devotees with curds till it becomes perfectly white. At about 11 p.m. the god is carried to the spot; lighted camphor is thrown on the improvised cow and the whole stack breaks into a blaze. As the fire dies down, the collapse of the structure is awaited with intense interest, for if it falls towards the north the season will be good for the ryot, but if it falls towards the south the season will be bad.

The Subramanya *purāṇa* relates how one Prathivādi Bhayankaram, a learned pandit of Madura, came to Tiruchengōde for a dialectical contest with the local Pandit Kuṇa Śīlan, who was a devout worshipper of Subramanya. The Madura pandit, as he passed through the streets of the town, began a song with the words 'Though the hill is Nāgagiri, why cannot the Naga spread his hood and play', but he was at a loss how to complete the stanza till Subramanya appeared at his side, in the guise of a lad tending cattle, and finished the couplet with 'If the Naga did so, the peacock of Subramanya would destroy him with its beak'. The pandit, surprised at the lad's ready wit, asked who he was. Being told he was Kuṇa Śīlan's most junior pupil, the Madura pandit lost his nerve and departed, and the local pandit's reputation was saved.

Tiruchengōdu Hill is famous for its *tīrthams* or sacred springs. Most of these are natural clefts worn in the rock by sub-aerial denudation. There are forty of these *tīrthams*; each has its own legend, and associates the hill with one or other member of the Hindu pantheon. There is a *tīrtham* sacred to each of the Hindu Tri-mūrtis, Brahma, Siva and Vishnu, a *tīrtham* to Pārvati (Amba), a *tīrtham* to Lakshmi (Seṇ-kamalai¹), a *tīrtham* to Vignēśvara (Gaṇapati²) and a *tīrtham* to Subramania (Shanmuga). There is a *tīrtham* to the Seven Saints (Sapta-Rishi), and another to the Seven Virgins (Sapta-Kan-niyār). The Sarasvati, the Ganges and the Jamna have each a sacred well.

¹ Seṇ-Kamalam : red-lotus the emblem of Lakshmi, as Ven-Kamalam the white lotus is of Sarasvati.

² There is a Pāṇḍya inscription on a rock west of the Gaṇapati Tīrtham. G. E. No. 644 of 1905.

The guardians of the eight cardinal points, Kubera (North) Yama (South), Indra (East), Varuna (West), Isā (N.E.), Vāyu (N.W.), Agni (S.E.) and Niruti (S.W.) are all represented. The Pāṇḍava *tīrtham* was formed by the exiled Pāṇḍavas with the help of the Rishi Vyāsa. Rāma bathed in the Gāyatri *tīrtham*, and there is a *tīrtham* to Jāmbavanthar, his ursine attendant. The Nāga *tīrtham* was created by Adīśēsha, the Serpent King. The Sun (Sūriyan) and Moon (Chandiran) have their *tīrthams*. There are *tīrthams* to Siva in the form of Bhairava, to Pārvati in the form of Durga, to Aiyanār, under the name of Śāsta, to the Demon Baṇāsūra, to Mayēndra, the Carpenter of Indra-lōkam. In the Sarva *tīrtham* the Dēvas bathed, to purge the whole world of sin. Another *tīrtham* called Pāpanāśam¹, 'the destruction of sin'. A Pāṇḍiyan *tīrtham* commemorates the Pāṇḍya king who built the Pāṇḍisvara Temple on the hill top. Those who have crawled round the rock of barrenness *Maladikkal* should bathe in the Kumāra *tīrtham*, which was formed by Subramanya. The Dēva *tīrtham* lies at the feet of Ardhanārīśvara, and its waters are drunk by all pilgrims who resort thither; in it Pārvati herself was wont to bathe, during the penance which won for her union with Siva in the form of Ardhanārīśvara, and its waters cured the Moon of consumption². The Kshīra *tīrtham* (or Kīlakku-pāl-uttu: 'eastern-spring-of-milk') was formed from a drop of milk that fell from Pārvati's breast, while the Kāma-dhēnu *tīrtham*, (called Mēрку-pāl-uttu 'western-spring-of-milk'), was formed by Kāma-dhēnu, the celestial cow, its waters being a sure specific for diabetes.

In connection with the Tiruchengōḍu Dūrgam Mr. Le Fanu narrates a tragedy, which was enacted there some fifty years ago. A certain Brahman, who was desirous to contract a marriage, but lacked means, had recourse to a rich Kavundan for assistance, and the latter directed him to make all necessary preparations, and rely on him for the cost, which would be paid on a date mentioned. Accordingly the trusting Brahman made the usual arrangements, invited the guests, and all was ready on the day when the money should have been given, when he had recourse to his Kavundan friend, who, to his horror, repudiated the agreement. The Brahman, who knew the disgrace and ridicule to which he would be exposed, urgently pressed his claim, and at last became so importunate that the Kavundan ordered him to be slippered. After undergoing this humiliation, the Brahman's whole soul was kindled with a desire for revenge, and his imprecations were terrible. The law could give him no adequate redress, and his own right hand could be of little avail; so he

¹ On a rock close by is a Chola Inscription. G.E. No. 643 of 1905.

² Daksha, son of Brahma, gave twenty-seven of his daughters in marriage to the Moon, but the Moon loved one only, and neglected the others. Daksha in wrath cursed the Moon with tuberculosis, and the Moon waned and vanished. The gods then interceded, and Daksha modified the curse. The Moon was ordered to bathe in the waters of the Sarasvati, thereby recovering strength to grow for one fortnight, but the following fortnight he was condemned to pine away again.

had recourse to a characteristic mode of Brahman retaliation. Taking his *chembu*, he proceeded to the tank, where he bathed with due ceremony. He then turned his steps to the Dūrgam, up which, for a portion of the way, a flight of sixty steps leads, lighted on festive occasions by sixty lights on each side, each light fed with ghee instead of oil. Any vow pronounced on these steps is supposed to be irrevocable. Toiling up these with wrath in his heart, he reached the foot of the *Maladikkal*, one of the horns of the Dūrgam, a precipitous rock, difficult of access, and perched on the summit of which is a little temple, round which persons can with difficulty creep. Any woman who can go round this temple three times becomes fecund at once. Having gained this pinnacle, the Brahman thrice made the circuit of the temple uttering the most terrible imprecations against the Kavundan in accents so loud that the passers by in the streets below heard him and thronged in amazement at the scene. Having completed the third circuit, the Brahman emptied his *chembu* down the precipice, and, hurling it from him, cried, 'May the family of the Kavundan sink to perdition, even as this chembu,' and then flung himself head foremost down the precipice. So difficult is the precipice of access that the body was not recovered until three days afterwards. The Kavundan within a week met his fate. Starting from Tiruchengōdu to go to his village, he had proceeded but a little distance on the way, when he suddenly threw up his hands, exclaiming that he had seen the Brahman, and went raving mad, in which state he died shortly afterwards.

THE ANCIENT HINDU COLONIES

THE MALAY ARCHIPELAGO

MR. P. L. NARASIMHAN contributes an article to the *Commonweal* from which we extract the following:—It is not known to many a Hindu that about 2000 years ago the ancient Hindus colonized the important islands of the Malay Archipelago, civilized the aboriginal tribes of the islands and ruled there for about 1,500 years. The ancient history of these islands will therefore not fail to be of interest to us, not only as regards the seamanship of our ancestors but also as regards the position that the question of sea-voyage and foreign travel occupied in Ancient India. It will further demonstrate to us the fact that we are to-day lacking in the enterprise which our ancestors to a great extent owned.

THE SPICE ISLANDS

Our geographical knowledge of these islands is meagre; beyond the fact that these islands lie to the south of the Malay Peninsula we know very little of them. Sumatra, Java, Borneo, and Celebes are the most important of these islands. Prior to the fourth century B.C. they were known to European writers. The *Periplus* makes mention of trade in spices with them; and Ptolemy applies the word *Malayu* to the island of Sumatra. Later, 'in 1150 the Arabian geographer, Edrisi, mentions an islands *Malai*, which carried on a brisk trade in spices'. Thus it is that these islands came to be known as the Spice Islands.

TRADE WITH INDIA

Most modern historians are, on good authority, agreed as to the existence of the brisk trade in spices between India and these islands prior to the fourth century B.C. The *Periplus* mentions 'voyages to the "Golden Chersonese" by which is probably meant the peninsula of Malacca.' And the spices, clove and nutmeg, 'were named among the articles exported to Alexandria for the first time in the age of Marcus Aurelius—that is to say, about A. D. 180.' Thus the Hindus were the earliest to have any knowledge of these islands and commercial intercourse with the original inhabitants thereof. The Moors and Arabs purchased these spices from the Hindu merchants and sold them in Egypt (the ancient *Barbara*), *Yavana* (Ionia) Greece, Rome (*Romakapuri*), Persia (*Parasika*), etc.

THE ANDHRAS

At the beginning of the Christian era, the Andhras were in the zenith of their power. They ruled over not only what is now the Andhra country, but also over Magadha, which they had conquered. The rich soil and the fertile spice gardens and fields of the Malay Islands attracted their attention. They appear, therefore, to have arranged for emigration parties to these islands. James Fergusson locates the home of the Brahmana immigrants to be 'in Telingana and at the mouths of the Krishna,' and that of the Buddhist immigrants to be 'in Guzerat and at the mouths of the Indus.' According to him the Hindus colonized the island of Java in the first century A. D. Montstuart Elphinstone writes: 'But, whatever gave the impulse to the inhabitants of the coasts of Coromandel, it is from the north part of that tract that we first hear of Indians who sailed boldly into the open sea. The histories of Java give a distinct account of the numerous body of Hindus from Cling (*Calinga*) who landed, on their island, civilized the inhabitants, and who fixed the date of their arrival by establishing the era still subsisting, the first year of which fell in the seventy-fifth year before Christ.' According to tradition in the islands of Sumatra and Java, a large number of Hindus, led by Sumitra, their Chief (after whom the island takes its name) landed in Sumatra a century before the Aditya era, conquered the aboriginal tribes and colonized there, and in the beginning of the above era, another host of Hindus headed by Aditya, or Adityadharma, occupied the island of Java. Thus, the island of Sumatra was colonized by Hindus in or about 75 B. C. as surmised by Elphinstone, and the island of Java was colonized by them in A. D. 78. The Aditya or Ajja era, which is largely in use in the island of Java, commenced in A. D. 78, and may be the same as that of the Salivahana era of Southern India.

TELINGANA OR KALINGA

The word 'Telingana' is the corruption of the Sanskrit word *Trilinga*, the three sacred shrines of Shiva, namely, the shrine at Draksharam, the one at Shavisailam and the one at Kalahasti, which shrines formed the boundaries of the Telugu country of which Kalinga is the northern part, comprising the Northern Circars. It is supposed that about 2000 years ago, the sea was near Shrikakulam (on the left bank of the Krishna river), and that it has been receding slowly. The Kistna District Manual lends weight to this theory, which is admitted by modern geologists. The sea at Masulipatam is getting more and more shallow, so that ships are not now touching at this port. Mr. F. R. Hemingway, who recently prepared the Gazetteer for the present Godavari District, estimates that in the Godavari District the sea is getting silted up at the 'rate of a mile in twenty years' and adds that 'the anchorage in the bay is said to be shallowing at the rate of a foot every ten years.' It can safely be said, therefore,

that the ancient town of Shrikakulam was at the mouths of the Krishna river 2000 years ago, and that the Hindus that first emigrated to the island of Sumatra and Java were the Andhras from Shrikakulam. J. F. Scheltema writes 'Venggi inscriptions, brought to light in West Java, go back to the fifth and sixth centuries of the Christian era, and name "Kalinga" in India as the region from which the Hindu colonists emigrated.' In the vulgar Javanese language the word Kalinga was corrupted into 'Cling,' which is now used by the natives in the island to denote India. Vengi, near Ellore in the Kistna District, was the capital of Kalinga, or the ancient Andhra country up to the eleventh century A.D.¹ and 'Vengi inscriptions' mean inscriptions in the Vengi or Telugu language or script. This also adds strength to the conclusion that the Hindus who colonized the Malaya Archipelago were the Andhras.

THE BUDDHIST IMMIGRANTS

From the time when the Andhras colonized the islands, the intercourse between them and India became more and more frequent, and the Indian ships were constantly plying between them. Encouraged by the success of the Andhra immigrants, the Buddhists of Guzerat and Sind organized on the west coast of India an emigration party, owing probably to the serious religious persecution directed against them by the Hindus of the Brahmanic religion in the fourth century,² and landed in these islands where they were welcomed and sheltered. James Fergusson says: 'Brahmans and Buddhists did not appear contemporarily in Java.' J. F. Scheltema writes: 'Fa Hien, the Chinese pilgrim who visited the island of Java in 412 or 413, having suffered shipwreck on its coast, speaks of Brahmanism being *in floribus* and making converts, but complains of Buddhism as still of small account among the natives'; and according to Elphinstone, the Chinese pilgrim 'found Java entirely peopled by Hindus'. This pilgrim, Fa Hien, sailed from the Ganga to Ceylon, from Ceylon to Java, and from Java to China, in ships manned by crews professing the Brahmanical religion.' The conclusion is therefore irresistible that the Buddhist emigration from India took place in the fourth century, A.D.

JAVA, THE CENTRE OF ATTRACTION

Java is the smallest in area of the four important islands named above; but it is the most important in all other respects. Not less than fifty writers have written its history and geography in the Dutch language, and there is ample material for understanding its ancient history, traditions, religion, literature, etc. It is here that the Hindus firmly

¹ Rajamandri became the capital of the Chalukyas in A.D. 605—S.K.

² There seems to be no evidence of this in Fa Hien so far. See Chapters XVI and XXVII and V. A. Smith's *Early History*, pp. 296—300.—S.K.

established themselves, and it is also from here that they extended their sway to all other islands of the Archipelago. Madhura to the north-east, and Bali to the east, of Java are the two islands which were in all respects intimately connected with this island, though physically separated from it by small belts of sea. That Java should be the centre of attraction for the Hindus, the Chinese, the Mahomedans and lastly for Europeans will be quite evident when we begin to take a brief survey of its geographical position and historical value.

YAVA DWIPA

The word 'Java' is a corruption of the Sanskrit word *Yava* a kind of grain for which the island was famous in ancient times besides spices. Even now paddy is grown in this island in considerable quantities under a system of irrigation much improved by the Dutch Government. This island has a length of 622 miles from east to west while its greatest breadth is 121 miles only. Its area (including the island of Madhura) is 50,554 miles which means a third of the Madras Presidency. It is most thickly peopled now; its population rapidly rose from 19,067,829 in 1878 to 26,125,110 in 1891 and to 29,000,000 in 1901.

A long chain of mountains runs through the entire length of the island, and there are numerous volcanoes. Of these last, the most important are Arjuna, Sumeru, Ravana, Tankubanprabhu, Guntur, Siamat, Sendhara, Jadie, Telagabodasi. Galungugangu, Sampangi, Merapi, Lavu, Keluta, Tenjeru. The volcano, Guntur, caused considerable damage to the island in 1842; and although similar eruptions are not uncommon, the population is steadily increasing owing to the fertility of the soil and the easy means of livelihood.

What are called rivers in the island are really big streams which are useful for irrigation; and they were also made navigable by artificial means. Of these the most important is the Surakarta, known also as Bengawan and Solo. The other important rivers are the Bhagavanta, Sarayu Upaka, Vrantu, Praga; Tangool, Badangu and Ujjangu. There are thick forests on the hills and all the flora and fauna found in India are also found in this island. The *Rasamala*, a kind of tree, grows to a height of 100 feet and then branches out. Two crops of paddy are grown in a year under an excellent irrigation system from the small rivers. Spices, coffee, maize, cotton, sugar-cane, tea, tobacco, indigo, are also grown in large quantities.

The island is governed by a Dutch Governor-General and is divided into twenty-three residencies, including Madhura.

PEOPLE AND LANGUAGE

The aborigines of Java belong to a branch of the Malaya race of the wanderers, eating fish and other water-animals, and mostly living on the coast or in thick forests. They were good seamen with their swift but light

canoes. The Hindu colonists of the island gradually brought them under their sway and civilized them. Though the Indian Buddhists began colonizing the island in the fourth century, they could not check the spread of Hinduism. The Chinese began their commercial relations with the island in the sixth century, and gradually Buddhism found some adherents from among the natives; and these two religions—rivals in India—became friends in this island, so much so that a sort of Buddhistic Hinduism existed for a long time. Hindu Kings built Buddhistic temples and *vice versa*. The Javanese language is of several varieties; Ngoko is the language addressed to inferiors; Kromo used in addressing superiors; and Madhya or Ngoko-kromo used in addressing equals. But whatever may be the varieties of language Sanskrit figures in it to as appreciable a degree as in any of the Indian vernaculars; and compounds formed of Sanskrit and Javanese languages are very common. A few Telugu words are also found. All the religious books such as *Brata Yuda* (i.e. *Bharata Yuddha* or the *Mahabharata*), *Ramanaya*, *Ghatokachagraya*, *Panchatantra*, *Karasnayana*, etc., were all in Sanskrit, till they were translated into the Javanese language in the tenth or eleventh century; Elphinstone says: 'Although the common language is Malay, the sacred language, that of historical and poetical compositions and of most inscriptions, is a dialect of Sanskrit,' and adds that there is a still more daring imposture in the poets of Java, who have transformed the whole scene of the Mahabharata with all the cities, kings, and heroes of the Jumna and Ganga, to their own island. Thus it is that the Javanese think even to this day that the Mahabharata war took place in their island and not in India (Cling or Kalinga).

HINDU TEMPLES, ETC., OF JAVA

The temples, Brahmanical and Buddhistic, of Java are now mostly in ruins, but they command the admiration of the modern Europeans whom they led to investigate the ancient history of the island, where a temple is called in Javanese language a 'Chandi.'

Parambanam bas-reliefs in the residency of Merapi are of the highest importance from an architectural, artistic, and decorative point of view. 'Freed from their luxurious vegetation and excavated,' says Mr. Scheltema, 'architectural remains of the first order came to light with sculptured ornament nowhere else' surpassed in richness of detail and correctness of execution. Surrounded by monuments of a mainly Buddhistic character, these buildings were consecrated to the Hindu Trinity, with Shiva leading the Trimurti as Bhata Guru, Master and Teacher of the world. A date recently discovered, 886 Saka (A. D. 964), or according to another reading, 996 Saka (A. D. 1074), points to the period when Shaivism in Java had already become strongly impregnated with Buddhism, a circumstance fully borne out by the external decoration'. There were 1,000 temples here, on which were

carved the most beautiful scenes from the *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata* (*Brata Yuda*, as it is called).

Of Boro Budoor the same writer says, that it 'offers fair accommadotion to the student of oriental architecture and lover of art in whatever form.' James Fergusson finds identity of workmen and workmanship 'in the sculpture and detail of ornamentation at the Boro Budoor and at Ajanta (Cave 26), Nasik (Cave 17), etc.', and computes that at the former 'the decoration extends to nearly 5,000 feet, almost an English mile, and as there are sculptures on both faces we have nearly 10,000 lineal feet of reliefs'.

Most of the ancient shrines in Java bear close resemblance to those of the Dravidian country and the presumption is natural that Dravidian workmen must have been employed for building them. But the shrines constructed from the ninth century are said to be of Chalukyan, not of Dravidian, style. James Fergusson says: 'They are in storeys, but not with cells nor any reminiscences of such; but they are Chalukyan.' Volumes have been written in the Dutch language about the Hindu monuments of Java, and J. F. Scheltema wrote a work in English, so it is not necessary to give a complete description of the same in the brief space at my disposal. But I should not fail to mention the fact that of all the bas-reliefs of Boro Budoor, those in which women are shown carrying vessels at a pond where lotus flowers grow and birds disport, are considered the finest in the world; and the bas-reliefs, the lowest in a general scheme of four panels, showing a sea-storm on one side and a royal couple with a child handing gifts to some marines, who evidently reached the shore are equally admired. These latter are of the ninth century and are Buddhistic.

INSCRIPTIONS OF JAVA

The value of these inscriptions is immense. Some of them have been deciphered and there remain many more that have not yet been brought to light. 'The Venggi inscriptions of the Dleng and the Kadu leave no doubt that the oldest manifestations of Hinduism in Central and West Java were intimately related, and that the first strong infusion of the imported creed must have operated until 850 Saka (A. D. 928).' The earliest inscription now available relates to the Saka year 396 (Friday in the month, Jyēṣṭha) and describes the duties of the king to the people and of the people to the king. In it, incidentally, reference was made to Shri. Chitravati, Chintā Dēvi and Draupadi. An inscription in Venggi characters of the fifth century describes the rule of King Purnavarma. An inscription of 674 refers to the rule of a Queen Sima, and it is supported by the Chinese accounts. From an inscription in Nagari characters of the seventh century it is clear that Adityadharma, a Buddhist prince or king, conquered a Brahmana king (or king professing the Brahmana faith), whose name was given as Siwaraga or

Sivaraga. An inscription in Chengalpattana, in the residency, or district of, Kadu records that a certian king 'who bore a Sanskrit name' sacrificed to Shiva and erected a temple in 654 Saka (A. D. 732). That the Buddhists built the temple at Kalasan in the residency of Jogjakarta in 700 Saka (A. D. 788) is evident from another inscription. The inscriptions of the King Sanjaya of the eighth century, which is in Venggi characters, records much about the worship of the Vishnu. An inscription of 731 Saka (A. D. 809) records the high state of the Dieng. The Chandi Ijo has eleven temples in it and contains 'two stone receptacles and strips of gold leaf with the image of a deity and an inscription.' An inscription found in a pond near Singasari records that, in 1351, Gaja Mada, the prime minister of the queen Jaya Shri Visunvardhani, founded a temple-tomb or burial ground for the Shaivas and Buddhists and especially for those that 'had followed their King Kirtinagara in death.' The inscription ends: 'See here the foundation of the most honourable Prime Minister of Yavas sea-girt domain.' There is evidence—inscriptions and tradition—to show that the temples of Boro Budoor were built at the instance of the Buddhists of the Shri Bhoja province of Sumatra, between A. D. 850 and 900.

ANCIENT PROVINCES OF JAVA

Up to the fourteenth century Java was divided into several provinces. The Hindu Kings of the several provinces were generally at war with one another. Of all of these, the province of Mojopahit (Mojo=fruit, pahit=potion, meaning in the Javanese language, 'a fruit of poison to the enemies') was the most famous, and extended its influence to all the islands of Melanesia and Micronesia, and to Australia.

ANCIENT KINGS OF JAVA

The ancient history of Java like that of India is wanting in much necessary information. The Dutch Government, like that of the British in India has done much to unearth the materials for compiling the ancient history of the island. In an island where most of the material historical evidence was lost through time, earthquakes and volcanic eruptions it is not an easy matter for the Dutch Archæological Service to do more than they have done, especially as most of the inscriptions, copperplates etc., were in languages entirely foreign to them. It is not therefore possible to give a connected line of kings that ruled over any province; nor can their dates be fixed with sufficient accuracy.

MUSALMANS IN JAVA

We have already seen that there was a flourishing trade in spices between India and the Malaya Islands and between India and Arabia, as early as the

beginning of the Christian era. Arabian traders brought their ships off Malabar and thence exported their foods. Some historians are inclined to think that at the time of the Khalifate, some Arab traders reached the shores of Java for commercial purposes but not for proselytism or conquest. However that may be, it is undeniable that there was constant communication between the Malaya Islands and India till the thirteenth century, by which time a great part of Northern India had come under Mahomedan rule. It was also then that some Mahomedans found their way, in the ships of the Hindus, to the Malaya Peninsula, where the Hindus were not firmly settled. They influenced the Malaya Prince there, who became a Muhammadan (in 1276) and was afterwards known as Mahmud Shah. From that peninsula, the Mahomedans directed their attention to the fertile and prosperous islands of the Archipelago. They were successful in converting Arya Damar, the governor in Sumatra of the possession of Majopahit and his son Roden Patah. In 1478 Brahnavijaya, the King of Majopahit in Java was after much warfare defeated and slain. The Brahmanas fled in terror of the Muslims, who carried fire and sword to the island of Bali; but the Mahomedan conquest of Majopahit gave a firm footing to Islām in Java. The Portuguese who set foot in the island in 1554 could not wrest the island from the Mahomedans. In 1596 the Dutch appeared on the scene as traders, and established their rule in 1646. But in 1811 the British took possession of the island and ruled the same till 1816 when, by virtue of the Treaty of London in 1814, the island was ceded to the Dutch Government who imitated the excellent system of British administration.

SEA VOYAGE

We have seen that 2000 years ago Brahmanas and other classes of Hindus sailed over the seas and established colonies in the islands. Our orthodox pandits of the present day will therefore do well to consider the question of sea-voyage in the light of the above information, and say why the prohibition against sea-voyage, if it existed at all, did not effect our ancestors so long ago. As all communication between the colonies and their mother-country (India) ceased more than five centuries ago, we had lost sight of these colonies; and never knew of their existence and their relationship to our country; just as the Javanese, in their turn, forgot all about their Cling (Kalinga or India), and so located the battle-field of Kurukshetra in their island.

NOTE ON MARKA BRAHMANS

A CURIOUS story is related of the origin of the Marka Brahmans of Mysore. Sri-Sankarāchārya, it is said, composed a poem, and submitted it to the scrutiny of a certain Sakti-worshipping pandit, who was a noted Sanskrit scholar, but who lived an unclean life with a paramour, eating flesh and drinking wine. The pandit improved the grammar of Sri-Sankarāchārya's poem, and the latter blessed the pandit and begged him to renounce his vices. The pandit promised to do so, provided the sage would accept a meal of flesh and wine. The sage complied, and thereby brought, upon himself the obloquy of all sects for his breach of Brahmanic discipline. Among his accusers were the ancestors of the present Markas, who themselves took to flesh and wine, and invited the sage to a repast of the prohibited viands. Before dinner, however, the sage took the Markas to a blacksmith's forge, and asked the smith for food. The smith had nothing to offer but the red-hot iron he was hammering. Sankarāchārya accepted the iron, and swallowed some of it, inviting the Markas to do likewise. The Markas, however, were not up to the test, and declined the dangerous diet, whereat the sage laid on them the curse that they should ever after pass for Chandalas (outcastes). It is said that the curse was afterwards modified so as to take effect only between 11 a.m. and 2 p.m., during which time they may not be seen by true Brahmans, and on this account they are called Madhiyāna-Mādigaru ('Midday Madigas').

A variant of this story is given in Mr. Thurston's *Castes and Tribes*, Vol. i, p. 367, where it is noted that red-hot iron alone can purify the person of one who has eaten flesh or drunk alcohol.

F. J. RICHARDS.

STUDIES IN ANCIENT HINDU POLITY : NARENDRANATH LAW

(Messrs. Longmans & Company)

THE book is an attempt to present in more readable form some of the various aspects of ancient Hindu administration as detailed in the work on Hindu Polity the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya. The administrative features taken for study are mining, irrigation and meteorology, cattle and game, means of communication, minor works of public utility, justice and law. To those that cannot or do not wish to read the Arthaśāstra the book would be quite welcome as it is bound to give a general idea of the actual administration of Hindu India in the fourth and third centuries B.C.

Professor Radhakunandh Mukharji, the author of *The History of Indian Shipping* contributes a learned introduction in which he discusses the author's time and character. He proves, by an array of quotations, that this Arthaśāstra in one of its various texts was always ascribed to Chāṇakya or Vishnu-Gupta, the 'Chancellor' of the Maurya Emperor Chandragupta, and that it was a well-known work in literature. We would invite attention to an error and an omission. The error is where on page xii the Mahāvamśa Tika is ascribed to Mahānāmasthavira. It was not the Mahāvamśa Tika but the Mahāvamśa itself that the Sthavira Mahānāman composed in the sixth century A.D. It is this work that contains the reference connecting Chāṇakya with Chandragupta.

'Then did the Brahman Cāṇakka anoint a glorious youth, known by the name Cendagutta, as king over all Jambudīpa, born of a noble clan, the Moriyas, when, filled with bitter hate, he had slain the Ninth (Nanda) Dhanananda.' Geiger's Mahāvam's (translation), page 277.

The omission is the first verse of the Sanskrit Drama 'Chandakausika' in which occurs the statement regarding Chāṇakya and Chandragupta.

Yas Samśrtya prakṛtigahanām ārya Chāṇakyanītim.
Jitva nandān kusumanagaram Chandragupto jighāya.
Karpāṭatvam dhruvam apahatān adya tām ēva hantum
Dhōrdarpādya sa punarabhavad sri mahīpaladēvaḥ.

The first half of the verse brings out the connexion between the king and the minister most clearly.

The last part of the introduction, however, is devoted to proving that Kaṇṭilya's Arthaśāstra represents the work of an individual author and not the tradition of a school. To us it seems that the work shows throughout the clear impress of a practical administrator. The references made to the work in later literature would support this view which is that of Professors Jacobi and Mukharji. We commend the book to those that may have some curiosity in regard to the subject, and may not be in a position to bestow either the time or trouble upon the subject to study the original.—*Editor.*

THE DATE OF THE BHARATA WAR AND ANTIQUITY OF INDIAN CIVILIZATION

THE question of the date of the various works that have gone to make the culture of India is one of vital importance to investigators in any branch of this culture. Among such works the Mahābhārata holds very high place. Mr. C. V. Vaidya, the author of *Epic India* and other works, is among the most competent to discuss the question of the date of the Bhārata War. This point has long been under discussion but no definite conclusion has yet been reached. The date ascribed to the event, and therefore to the work itself, has varied from 1190 to 3102 B.C. Mr. Vaidya puts forward the arguments in favour of the latter of these dates, and his arguments are worthy of consideration. Hence the following extract from the *Bombay Chronicle* :—

Mr. C. V. Vaidya, M.A., LL.B., whose researches into ancient Indian history, especially in regard to the origin and antiquity of the era of the Kali yuga and the date of the Mahābhārata War are well known, attempts in the following article to arrive at the correct date of this great war of ancient times. Mr. Vaidya, after briefly discussing the conclusions and theories already reached and propounded by western and eastern scholars concludes that the orthodox date, 3181 B.C., is the correct date of the fight :—

So thick is the mist that hangs over ancient Indian history that one is not able to assign even probable dates to many an event mentioned in ancient Sanskrit books. The earliest date that has now been fixed by scholars, with any degree of certainty is 480 B. C., ¹ the date of Buddha's death. But the dates of events preceding that event are the subject of conflicting opinions. Among these latter stands the great Bhārata fight, which according to the orthodox Hindu view took place in 3181 B.C. That is also the year from which the Kali-yuga is said to have commenced. I shall endeavour to show that this is the probable date of that mighty strife, on grounds, which it will be difficult to ignore.

One may be prone to imagine that the incidents referred to in the Mahābhārata are enveloped in a legendary atmosphere, and any attempt to give dates to them is futile. We must not, however, be led away by such an idea, for the orthodox Hindu considers the battle to be the first historic event in Indian history and students of ancient Indian literature do not hesitate to give this story of the great epic a historical aspect.

DATES ASSIGNED BY INDIAN SCHOLARS

Various are the dates arrived at by eminent Indian and European pandits in dealing with this subject. Professor Rangacharya believes that the time assigned to the present Kali age, viz. 3101 B.C. is too early. He is inclined to put it at a much later date, and believes that the earlier date was arrived at by the Indian astrologer—Aryabhatta—on a purely hypothetical inference.

Mr. R. C. Dutt in his History of Indian Civilization comes to his conclusion on certain data found in the Puranas relating to genealogies of kings in the present epoch. We are referred to a passage in the Bhagvat, which states that one thousand and fifteen years elapsed between the birth of Parikshit and the reign of Nanda. It is also given in the Puranas and the Bhārata, that Parikshit was borne three months after the battle of Kurukshetra. It is known that Nanda preceded Chandragupta by a hundred years, and that the latter lived in 312 B.C. Hence according to Mr. Dutt's theory, we arrive at 1015 plus 100 plus 312 equal to 1427 B.C. as the possible date of the Bhārata fight.

Mr. Aiyar of Madras, on the other hand, gives a different date, viz. 1200 B.C. This result from his interpretation of a *shloka* in Varahamihira, which gives the time of Yudhisthira. The same lines, however, are construed by Kalhana and other Kashmir pandits in a different manner and they come to 2448 B.C. as the approximate date of the contest.

In reply to these theories I may adduce the evidence of some extracts made from the work of Megasthenes, who, as is well known, was the great Ambassador at the court of Chandragupta. His original work is unfortunately lost to us. But from the little that remains we find that, identifying Heracles with Hari or Shrikrishna as being worshipped by the Showseni people, there were 138 generations between Shrikrishna and Chandragupta. This works out roughly 2760 years at twenty years per generation. Now the date of Chandragupta is 312 B.C., therefore date of Shrikrishna is nearly 2760 plus 12 equal to 3072 B.C., coincides very nearly with the orthodox date of the Bhārata fight, viz. 3101 B.C.

WESTERN SCHOLARS' DATES

Turning one's attention next to the standard work on Sanskrit Literature by Professor Macdonell—a great Vedic scholar—one finds that he speaks of the famous Epic as having for its historical background the ancient conflict between the two neighbouring tribes, the Kurus and the Panchalas. These two peoples are represented in the Yajurveda as being already united. Moreover, in Kathaka we come across Dhritarashtra and he appears to be a well-known figure therein. From these data Professor Macdonell argues that the Bhārata fight preceded the Yajur-veda, and that by about a hundred years. It is also found that the name of Janamejaya Parikshit occurs several

times in the Shatapatha Brahmanas, and we may accept this conclusion. But we strongly doubt the final inference drawn by Professor Macdonell, who, taking 1000 B.C. as the date of the Yajur-veda, fixes his estimate of the date of the Bhārata fight to about a hundred years before that period.

In an article published in the London *Royal Asiatic Society's Journal* of April, 1914, Mr. Pargiter of the Calcutta High Court establishes a relation in time between the Rig-veda (*mantra* portion of it) and the Bahārata fight. He takes into consideration the genealogical trees given in the Puranas of times before the Kali-yuga, and find that it is stated there that Devapi—the author of a Rig-vedic Hymn,—was the brother of Shantanu, the father of Bhishma. He, therefore, comes to the conclusion that the Bharata fight comes after the Rig-veda by about a hundred years. Further, Devapi stands removed by about thirty generations after Vishwamitra. Taking twenty years for each generation it gives us a period of about 600 years intervening between Vishwamitra and Devapi. Now Mr. Pargiter argues that supposing the Bhārata fight took place in about 1000 B.C., then plus 600 equal 1600 B.C., is the earliest date of the Vedic age, and this date almost coincides with the date generally given to that age, viz., 1700—1000 B.C., independent of these calculations by Mr. Pargiter the same conclusion can be arrived at from the Mahābhārata; Devapi is also there mentioned as the elder brother, who resigned the kingdom in favour of his younger brother Shantanu. This same fact again appears in the Brihaddevata of the Rig-vedas. We, moreover, find that in the Mahābhārata the Panchalas are often called the Somakas, and that King Drupada is in some places styled Somaki. Now, Somaka was an ancestor of Drupada in the fourth generation. In the Rig-vedas he is mentioned as the son of Sahadeva, and he is also found in the Aitereya Brahmana, where he is depicted as performing the Rajasuya and drinking the Soma juice whereby he acquires fame. He probably raised the Panchalas to renown, and that is the reason why they go by the name of Somakas. All these facts tend to show that Mr. Partiger's statement that the Rig-vedas date prior to the Bhārata is well founded. But we do not agree with Mr. Pargiter in fixing the date given to the Rig-veda.

It will thus be seen that there is strong evidence to say that the dates of the Bhārata, and the Yajur and the Rig-veda are interdependent. There can be no doubt that the Bhārata fight stands between Yajur-veda and the Rig-veda, the latter preceding and the former following the fight. If, therefore, the dates of either the Rig-veda or the Shatapatha Brahmana, (which presuppose the Rig-veda), could be arrived at with any degree of probability, the Bhārata fight could be assigned its proper date. Vedic scholars have assigned to the Rig-veda a date ranging over 1500—1000 B.C., and to the Shatapatha Brahmana the date 800—500 B.C. We believe that this estimate falls too short of the probable reality.

ASTRONOMICAL EVIDENCE

Recent investigations made by Professor Jacopi from astronomical observations, show that the Vedic age goes so far back as 4000 B.C. Mr. Shankar Balkrishna Dixit in his excellent history of Bharatīya Jyotiṣh points out an astronomical datum which is of the greatest importance in throwing light on the subject under discussion, as it fixes the date of the Shatapatha Brahmana. A passage from this work mentions that the constellation of Kṛttikāś (the Pleiades) rose in the due east at that time. This means that the Kṛttikāś were then on the equator, or in other words that they had no declination. At present, however the Kṛttikāś are to the north of the equator calculating from their present position, the next proceeding time when they were on the equator, and taking the annual precession to be 50" Mr. Dixit finds that the brightest star in that constellation was on the equator about 2990 B.C. i.e. nearly 3000 B.C. As the passage refers to this fact as a contemporaneous event it cannot be an error to say that the work was composed in about 3000 B.C. and not later (*Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXIV, page 245).

Now supposing that the Equinox was at a certain point A in 1900 A.D. in order that the Kṛttikāś may be on the Equator, the Equinoctial point must have been at some other position, say A'. The Kṛttikāś being to the north of the Ecliptic, the distance between these two points A & A' can be determined. This was found to be 68 degrees and each degree of precession being equal to 72 years we arrive at the figure 4896 years (78 by 72). Deducting from this number 1900 we get 2296 B.C. or nearly 3000 B.C. as the approximate date of the Shatapatha Brahmana. From this we can come to the date of the Bhārata fight by adding about a hundred years i.e., 3100 B.C. and adding further a few centuries more we come to the date of the Rīg-veda. The period, therefore, viz., 4000—3300 B.C. which has been assigned to it by Prof. Jacopi stands on good grounds.

But although Mr. Dixit's calculations are unimpeachable his theory does not go unchallenged. It has been opposed by arguments based on what is termed the theory of reminiscence. It is argued that because the Shatapatha speaks of the rising of the Kṛttikāś in the present tense it does not necessarily follow that the phenomena existed when the work was composed. For the event might have been one that had clung so fast to the memory of the people, that although it was an event of the past at the time of the composition of the Shatapatha it was represented as an event as then existing. In support of their argument the propounders of this theory of reminiscence bring forward the analogous fact that although the months of Chaitra and Vaiśākha do not at present form the Vasantha Ritu, the people sticking to the formula, commonly consider that these two months do form the Vasanta Ritu. These arguments, however, are not substantial enough. For one thing, it is not

probable that one would deliberately state a thing as existing unless it was actually so, and further the supporters of the theory of reminiscence do not deny that the Krittikās rose due east in 3000 B.C. yet they argue that the statement in the Shatapatha was made in an *ex post facto* manner from memory or tradition only in about 800 B.C. and thus give the latter as the probable date of the Shatapatha Brahmana. Now the Krittikās must have ceased to rise in the east about 2600 B.C. i.e., 2600—800 equal 1800 years before the date given to the Shatapatha by the theory of reminiscence. It is very hard to believe that an astronomical event eighteen centuries old, should be so fresh in men's minds as to give rise to a ritualistic formula. The argument based on the supposed formula remaining so long in people's minds is one that can hardly hold water. Moreover it is a known fact that no such formula existed in the case of the Krittikās. The only thing if at all that this argument can prove is the high state of civilization in India at that early date.

Another astronomical calculation by Mr. Dixit fixes 1400 B.C., as the date of the Vedanga Jyotisha. Prof. Max Muller has independently arrived at 1180 B.C. as the date for this work. The difference of about 200 years is not great taking millennium as the standard in dealing with ancient Indian History. If the Vedanga is 1200 B.C. old, the Shatapatha must be much older.

From internal evidence again in the Mahābhārata, the fulfilment of the covenant by the Pandavas of twelve years' exile and one year's incognito are counted on lunar basis. At the time of the Vedanga Jyotisha the lunar year was out of date. Taking thereof 1400 B.C. as the date of this work, the date of the Bhārata fight must have been long previous to it. There is again a reference in the Mahābhārata and also in the Shatapatha to human sacrifices. The descriptions given of these are very vivid, giving us an impression that it was a living institution at that time and thus proving also the great antiquity of these two books.

There is a tendency among European scholars to assign to the Indo-Aryan civilization a more recent date. It is a great strain to their minds to go back to 3000 B.C., when Greek civilization dates as far back as only 1000—500 B.C. There is also the bias based on Jewish chronology which places man's first appearance on this earth in 4004 B.C. But this idea is dying out as recent European explorers prove from inscriptions and archaeological finds that Egypt and Babylonia had reached the zenith of their civilization as far back as 4000 B.C.

These are then, in a small compass, the various theories that have been brought forward in assigning a probable date to the Bhārata fight. The two chief dates viz., about 1400—1000 B.C., and about 3000 B.C., are as far asunder as the poles. It is, moreover, said that the gap between the date of Buddha and that of the Bhārata fight, viz., 3000 B.C. is too wide to

cover. But that argues nothing. All that we can arrive at in these matters is more or less a correct surmise. The attempt made by Mr. Dixit, which gives Shatapatha's date as 3000 B.C. is very instructive and opens out a new field to scholars for research in the matter. I trust that when their researches bear fruit it will be incontrovertibly proved that, just as in the Egyptian and Babylonian chronologies time is reckoned by Millenniums, so will in Indian ancient history be epochs measured by thousands of years, indicating with justice the ancient position of Indian civilization in the History of the world.

THE SANKRANTI FESTIVAL

(THE UTTARAYANA-PUNYAKALA OR MAKARA-SANKRANTI)

THIS festival is celebrated on the first day of the solar month of Makara (*Tai* in Tamil). On this day the sun is on the Tropic of Capricorn, i.e. at Winter Solstice. All Hindus are ordained to bathe in a river or tank and to perform certain special ceremonies or religious duties on this day, within the prescribed time or *punyakāla*, which lasts for twenty ghatikas or eight hours after the Winter Solstice. Long journeys are undertaken by pious Hindus for bathing in sacred rivers on this occasion.

The day is held very sacred, and all elderly Brahmins that are fatherless offer special *tarpanam*¹ or libations to their departed ancestors.

¹ Generally the *tarpanam* ceremony consists of offerings, with special *mantras* (incantations) in the form of handfuls of water mixed with *tīla* (sesamum seeds); and they are offered to the two *vargas* or lines of ancestors, the *Pitṛivarga* (or paternal line) consisting of six ancestors, three male and three female, on the father's side, and the *Mātṛivarga* consisting of six ancestors, three male and three female, on the mother's side. If the father is alive, the ceremony is not observed by the sons; but if the father is dead, it is observed even though the mother is alive. When the mother is alive, the following are the ancestors to whom libations are offered generally:—

(A) *Pitṛivarga* (paternal line):—

Males

- (1) Father.
- (2) Father's father.
- (3) Father's father's father.

Females

- (1) Mother.
- (2) Father's mother.
- (3) Father's father's mother.

(B) *Mātṛivarga* (maternal line):—

Males

- (1) Mother's father.
- (2) Mother's father's father.
- (3) Mother's father's father's father.

Females

- (1) Mother's mother.
- (2) Mother's father's mother.
- (3) Mother's father's father's mother.

If the mother is not dead, the females under (A) will be—

- (1) Father's mother.
- (2) Father's father's mother.
- (3) Father's father's father's mother.

But no changes under (B) will be made.

In case any one of the above ancestors is living, the name of that ancestor is omitted, and the next name is substituted in its stead, and the next in its stead, and so on, so that the number of ancestors is always kept at three under each head. Certain classes of Brahmins offer libations to some other relations also, on the paternal and the maternal sides, such as father's brothers and sisters, mother's brothers and sisters, etc.

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ŚRĪ VAIṢṆAVISM AND ITS CASTE-MARKS

BY K. DEVANATHACHARIAR, ESQ., B.A.

THOUGH it is taken to be axiomatic that nothing can be believed in unless it is proved to be historically true, even such historical truths are no settled facts in matters purely religious. In getting into the religious thoughts and habits of the Hindus, practising a complex system of religion going conveniently under the name of Hinduism, so comprehensive in its character as to include on the one hand the darkest demon-worship and on the other the highest flights of philosophy, we expect to be guided more by tradition and the spirit that animated the people than by the so-called elusive historical verities. I beg to be pardoned therefore if I am not able to place the several statements of my paper this evening on a purely historical basis.

As I am of opinion that a study of the caste-marks of the Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas will be incomplete unless prefaced by a short history of Śrī Vaiṣṇavism, I have been obliged to name my paper, *Śrī Vaiṣṇavism and its caste-marks*. Though very able studies have been made by great scholars of the East and West regarding the evolution of the Śrī Viṣṇava faith, unfortunately, I have not the benefit of even a pioneer work on the caste-marks of the different sects of the Hindus. The versatile Vāḍagalai Āchārya Vēḍānta Desika has dwelt on the Vaiṣṇava mark, not as obtaining now but from a religious standpoint, insisting on the necessity of wearing

the *Urdva Punḍram*. Literature likely to throw light on these marks, in the sacred books of the Hindus, is not only scanty but spread over such a vast area that I am told it requires years of study to gather any useful information. The privilege I had of studying in the early nineties under the Reverend President of our Society made me forget the temerity with which I promised to read a paper. How thoughtless and bold my promise was, was made plain to me when the several pandits to whom I made an appeal to furnish me with facts consented to do so only after a good deal of consideration. In submitting what meagre materials I have managed to acquire from them in the course of the last few months, I shall consider myself amply rewarded for any helpful criticism you may be pleased to make after an indulgent hearing.

Time does not permit of my entering into the details of the evolution of religious thought in India though they have a very instructive and intelligible bearing on the system of what are called caste-marks. Briefly we may divide such an evolution into four stages. The Vedic, the Buddhistic, Hindu Pauranic and the recent Hindu period. I do not hazard giving dates to each of these periods as even the latest historical research has not yet arrived at any agreement in regard to these dates.

In the Vedic period, the distinctions that afterwards came to obtain between the several principal gods were not to be seen. 'In the Veda' says Professor Max Müller 'one god after another is invoked. For the time being all that can be said of a divine being is ascribed to him. The poet, while addressing him, seems hardly to know of any other god.' The learned Professor would call this system of faith as *Henotheism*, i.e., the worship of single gods, though these gods taken in the aggregate would make the religion polytheistic. In the language of the great Indian poet Rabindranath Tagore 'India always seeks for the one amidst many; her endeavour is to concentrate the diverse and scattered in one and not to diffuse herself over many'.

In the lapse of time the soul-stirring and attractive worship of the nature gods who contributed to the worldly welfare of the Aryans in their new homes had slowly stiffened into a complex system of high technicalities relating to sacrifice, ceremonies and penance. This period is characterized by the creation of caste distinction. Though this new factor powerfully affecting the social and religious life of the people has been always considered as the sheet anchor of Hinduism, eminently necessary for the survival of Hindu civilization, the Brahmin who was the crown of this classification, then as now came in for a good deal of censure. The mischief of the distinction was laid at his door. It was alleged he did all this to make his indispensability felt in all religious worship. Naturally therefore there was a revolt both against the precepts and the precedence of the Brahmin.

The chief party to figure in this fight were the Kshatriyas, and among the greatest of the devoted band was Gautama Sakya Muni. Convinced by personal experience he began to preach a vigorous crusade against the futility of sacrifices, penance and mortification. He called his path a middle path, and the key note of his teaching was right conduct. Whatever might have been the purity of the motives of those that founded a system, it invariably stood the danger of being crystallized into a cold formalism. Buddhism was no exception to the rule. The spirit of the religion had disappeared a few decades after the death of the Buddha. His disciples had neither the confident zeal nor the magnetic personality of the master. They gave an easy chance to the vigilant Brahmin to gain back his position. Now it is we arrive at the third stage or the paurāṇic period.

As a set off to the abstract teachings of the Buddha, the purāṇas presented to the people, in ever so many fascinating tales, in a strange admixture of truth and sophistry, the doings of their gods, principally those of Viṣṇu and Śiva. Eighteen are the chief purāṇas most of them fathered upon the great Vyāsa of the Mahābhāratha. By this time the many so-called gods of the Aryans came to lose their Vedic importance, and gave place to the conception of the Trinity who shared between them the three great functions of the great Parabrahmam. These were Brahma, the creator, Viṣṇu, the protector, and Śiva, the destroyer. The human mind instinctively takes to him that protects it or of whom it is afraid, and naturally therefore losing sight of the functional aspect of these gods it elevated either the protecting god Viṣṇu, or the grim destroyer Śiva to be the god in chief. There is very clear evidence to prove that even before the birth of Buddhism, even though the view is contested by Professor Rhys Davids, the two gods came to be as it were the founders of two distinct types of sects, Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism. But at all times these two gods held their place of predominance in the hierarchy of the Aryans. Just at the time when a supreme effort was made to resuscitate the old religion of the Hindus, there must have been a fierce contest between the followers of Viṣṇu and Śiva, or else we cannot satisfactorily account for the daring contradictions contained in the purāṇas relative to the position of Śiva and Viṣṇu a feature peculiar to the preaching of the purāṇas. Well balanced minds saw and said that there was no difference between them and the one was as good as the other, for the simple fact that the one was the complement of the other in the supreme economy of creation. The non-Hindu view that a personal god does not figure in the religious concept of the generality of the Hindus is untrue. When the idea of a personal god revived with fresh vigour in the minds of the critics of the Buddhist faith, they began to preach with a persuasive eloquence that the uninitiated human being could contemplate the divinity not as a being without

attributes a method which demanded of the devotee pure abstraction or a staring-at-vacancy, but only in the *Saguṇa* form, as being with qualities i.e., the worship of the deity in the form of some material object. The temple building craze, worship of the saints, deification are some of the inevitable features peculiar to this period. The statement has almost become a platitude that if the West craves for logic, the East feeds on simile, and what more potent force is there to convey the idea of similitude than a symbol. Symbolism is surely sound enough to a conception of the deity in the concrete. Whatever may be the nature of the criticism against image worship, I may be allowed to say that in one form or another it is to be found in all religions as it is instinctive to human nature. The image worship of non-Hindus becomes idol-worship of the Hindus, as these instead of looking on the image as a symbol, would consider it to be the living deity itself, the spirit of it being infused by special *mantras*. But this kind of differentiating is only hair-splitting. Both come to be the same, if they are intended for a practical purpose, which is to concretise the idea of the worshipper so as not to be drawn into abstraction, and thus become clouded. A church where one repairs to worship is as much image worship as the idol enshrined in the Hindu temple. Pious Mahomedans turn towards Mecca in the hour of prayer as if god is not elsewhere. Of course the idol is only a means to an end, and the end is only to be attained by abstraction, a feat reserved only for a chosen few. The Śaiva saints and Vaiṣṇava Ālṅkāra were no mean factors to fight materialism fostered by Buddhism in the holy Bhārata Varsha, before the great Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva Ādiyars appeared on the scene. To the eternal glory of South India, it should be said, that though Hinduism filtered from the North to the South, it was the South that fostered the faith in its hour of crisis. The labour of love and devotion of the Tamil saints, whether of Viṣṇu or Śiva, which marked the beginnings of the Puranic period was worthily carried towards its close by the great Śāṅkara. This guru great for all times, crowded into a short span of thirty-two years, a number of inspiring activities to compel the admiration of all. He preached a pantheistic philosophy, the immensity of which unfortunately did not arouse an active enthusiasm in the minds of the common people. His discourses were too learned, his teaching too philosophical. The work-a-day man that wanted to be paid then and there the wages of his labour was not likely to be satisfied with vague promises of a prolonged future payment. The dreamy dialectics of Śāṅkara directed to prove that all the world is an illusion did not therefore make headway even though he had completely achieved his object in rooting out the last traces of the Buddhistic faith. Dry intellectualism without emotion, which could be inspired by bhakti or rapt devotion alone, is not a religion to appeal to the multitude, who had eyes but could not see, and ears, but could not hear. A popular presentation of the faith was felt necessary if the neo-Hinduism

should continue its hold on the people who had been recently rescued to the faith of their fathers. Such a presentation was made by Rāmaṇuja and the religion he taught was Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism.

For a moment it must not be thought that Vaiṣṇavism was a pious invention of the latter day Hinduism. It is a Vedic religion, though European criticism is inclined to the view, by a study peculiar to itself of the Vedas, that there was more nature worship therein, but not the worship of the gods, principally Viṣṇu and Śiva with whom alone Hinduism proper has been identified. Professor Rangacharya has completely exploded this view in his remarkable address, *Rāmaṇuja and Vaiṣṇavaism* delivered in Bangalore five years ago. The religious fervour of Govindacharya Swamin of Mysore would go so far as to establish a similarity between the Zendavesta and the Vedas, and incidentally between Vaiṣṇavism and the tenets of the Avesta. Aggressive preaching of the faith dates only from the time of Śaṅkara. The Śivan Aḍiyars and Vaiṣṇava Ālwars were content to preach to the elect the greatness of their respective gods. They did not bring force to bear on people of other persuasions. Rāmaṇuja fortunately stepped in at a time when his services were required the most. He grounded his faith on the bed rock of bhakti. Simple love of god Viṣṇu was enough to secure heaven to a bhakta or devotee. Surely this was the shortest cut to Heaven; a few steps to scale: why not attempt it? All that had the privilege to know the faith attempted it. The disciplinary force of religion, as a body of dogmas, might have waned, but discipleship came to be acute; partisan spirit was in the air. Powerful support of princes was invoked. Narrow sectarianism came to be the prevailing feature. This kind of blind faith carried with it two forces; abject subordination to a spiritual guru and a mark of some kind to indicate fellowship in the belief of a particular form of faith. Unfortunately where they were the members of a joint family, now they came to be divided. It would be a distinction without a difference, unless something better was discovered nay invented, to differentiate their religious guild life. This is the origin of what are called caste marks, though to be accurate they are but sect marks.

At the beginning all were Smārtas, i.e., the followers of Smṛti, or the hoary tradition of religious concepts handed from father to son. The term *Smārta* has now unfortunately come to mean the followers of Śiva, though they believe as strongly in the saving graces of Viṣṇu. Even among the Smārtas there are not a few who give preference to Viṣṇu and are zealous in conforming themselves to the peculiar religious practices of the Vaiṣṇavas. The Bhagavat Sampradhāyam of the Smārtas which inclines to Viṣṇu worship was therefore common not only to the followers of Viṣṇu alone who came to be called Śrī Vaiṣṇavas later on, but also to the Smārtas, meaning in its modern accepted sense the followers of Śiva, though many families of even these without being admitted into the orthodox

Vaiṣṇava fold, have at least been included in the discipleship of the mutts of both Śrī Vaiṣṇavas and Vaiṣṇavas. The only explanation which seems probable is that which is offered by Mr. V. N. Narasimmiengar in his Mysore Census Report of 1891, wherein he says, 'The tenets of the sect seem to indicate a secession from the intangible and occult pantheistic philosophy of Advaitism and an approach more or less gradual towards the worship of an anthropomorphous god, endowed with every beneficent attribute (Viṣṇu), on whom the beliefs of all shades of monotheistic Vaiṣṇavism are focussed' Broadly speaking therefore we may divide the modern Hindus as either the followers of Śiva or Viṣṇu, the latter being still further divided into Śrī Vaiṣṇavas or the followers of Rāmānuja, and Mādhvas of Madhvāchārya.

The remarkable spread of Vaiṣṇavism as a strictly separate system as far as historical research can guide us dates only from the time of Śrī Rāmānujachārya, though the principle of the faith had its following all the time. Śrī Vaiṣṇavism is also called Śrī Sampradāya, or Śuddhanta Siddhāntam, the doctrine of pure bliss or of Lakshmi who resides inside, i.e. in our hearts, by the importance given to Śrī or Lakshmi the consort of Viṣṇu as the Lady of Mercy. She intercedes on behalf of the sinners who obtain their salvation or become acceptable to god Nārāyaṇa, by appealing to her in the first instance. Professor Rangacharya in the address quoted previously says: 'To bear well and without harm the burden of moral and religious responsibility belonging to weak and erring mankind some such interceder between the judging god and the human beings to be judged is very rightly recognized to be necessary by more than one well-known religion'. As even prior to the times of Śrī Rāmānuja, Christianity was not slow in securing converts to its faith, and its doctrine which was decidedly more concrete than the clouded and confused way in which Hinduism was presented to the people even by the new activity of the separate sects, a bold assertion has come to be made by the followers of this faith that the personal-god-feature of Śrī Vaiṣṇavism was taken from Christianity. Professor Krishnaswami Aiyangar and even staunch Christian missionaries like Mr. Hume contest this view and assert that the influence of Christianity on Hinduism is a negligible quantity.

Distinct faiths demanded more than ever distinct marks. Even here the marks are no new feature; and in fact in Hinduism it might be said that every apparent new feature is only an amplification of things old. There is no invention as much as an enlarged copy of the ancient miniature. The marks are of two kinds, the *Ūrdva punḍram*—the perpendicular mark, or the *Tiryak punḍram*—the horizontal, and no one should appear without any *punḍram* for *lalāṭa sūnyam* or bare facedness is looked upon with horror, and the bare-faced person is not fit for any religious duty. In a delightful

description of the daily routine of the rulers of old in Mahābhāratha it is said of Yudhiṣṭira, 'putting on red sandalwood paste and newly washed clothes after bathing'. If this was the case in the epic period the wearing of the marks is neither new nor nugatory.

Before entering into the details concerning the principle underlying or the differences between the several ways of wearing the marks, I will give in brief the two principal styles of the marks already mentioned. A close study of the religious books discloses more references to the *Ūrdhva punḍram*, or the perpendicular marks than to the *Tiryak punḍram*, or the horizontal. The Smṛtis are violently conflicting, and no definite principle can be laid down as to who should wear a particular kind of mark. Whereas most of the Smṛtis would put down the *Tiryak punḍram* as the distinct mark of the Sudras, in the Brihat Jābāla Upanishad, it is distinctly laid down that it is the necessary mark for the Brahman. One feature is predominant that those that would prefer heaven to earthly bliss are to wear the perpendicular marks—Suparṇo Upanishad, and Maho Upanishad leave no doubt regarding this. The commentators go a step further and have laid down that in the last hours of our life we must meditate on god with *Ūrdhva punḍram*. An ingenious explanation attempted by those that have practised the Yoga or meditation is that the three marks represent three perpendicular nādis, or nerves Iḍa, Pingala and Suṣumna which reach the crown of the head wherefrom the spirit is said to flit from the body. The straining of the eyes very necessary for the practice of Yoga would bring about the contraction of the eyebrows, and where they meet thought emanations arise, and it is from that the path is clearly marked to indicate the spiritual progress of the Yogin. Therefore a prominent section of the Śrī Vaiṣṇavas do not draw the marks on the bridge of the nose but draw them up from the curve connecting the eyebrows. I purposely omit quoting from Kaṭa Upanishad, Taitirīya Upanishad, Nārada Samita, Vāsudeva Upanishad, regarding the efficacy of *Ūrdhva punḍram* for seekers of heaven, and even for a normal religious life—Bhoddhāyana, disciple of Vyāsa, the great author of Mahābhāratha says,

Upaviṭam Śikābhandham, Ūrdhva punḍram vinākritam,
Apaviṭa karam karma viprasya viphalam bhavet,

which, in purport, means that if the actions of a man are to bear fruit, he should wear the caste marks. He goes further to mention, in particular reference to the mark itself, when it must be worn

Swādhyaē bhojanē chaiva homa mangaḷa karmaṇi,
Ūrdhva punḍra dhara nityam rakṣhēt pāpa nivartayē

while reciting the Vedas, dining, performing sacrifice, and doing auspicious deeds, the *namam* should be put on. It is such a man who will be free from sins.

The orthodox followers of Śiva take their stand on other Smṛtis whereas the Vaiṣṇavas conform themselves to what is laid down in the Pāṇcharātra. This may be because an elaborate reference is made to it in the Mahābhārata, Śānti Parva. In the Brahma Sūtra too, there is an adhikaraṇa named Pāṇcharātra adhikaraṇa, establishing the infallibility and the authoritativeness of the practices of the Śrī Vaiṣṇavas. The mark much in vogue prior to the days of Śankara was evidently Ūrdhva punḍram, and Śankara in praising Viṣṇu in his Viṣṇu Pādādi Kēśa Varṇaṇam, i.e. praise of Viṣṇu from head to foot, addresses him as wearer of Ūrdhva punḍra,— Ūrdhva punḍra dhārin. Unmistakeably enough this mark is none other than what the Vādgalais wear, his description of it being so exact.

Unfortunately iconography is not of much help to us in settling the question of the marks, if it is granted that we have adopted the marks put on the idols, and not that we have put on them what we wear. But Parāśara Bhaṭṭa, disciple of Rāmānuja explicitly refers to god Varadarāja of Conjeeveram as Ūrdhva punḍra dhārin.

The three marks of the Vaiṣṇavas or the Śaivas, whether perpendicular or horizontal, are symbolical of everything indicated by the mystic number three, which to put it shortly, may mean all the following taken separately or taken as a whole.

The three gods, Brahma, Viṣṇu and Rudra.

The letter *Aum*, compounded of A U M, which has enshrined in it the philosophy of existence, and forms the key-note of salvation.

The three fires, terrestrial, astral and celestial.

The three vedas, Rīg, Yajus and Sama.

The three worlds, the higher, the middle and the nether.

The three times, past, present and future.

The three guṇas or qualities, satva, rajas and tamas.

The three essentials of faith, i.e. Prakṛti (earth), the Jīvātma (individual soul), and Paramātmā (the god).

Though individual idiosyncracies account for slight differences in the style of wearing marks among the Smārtas and Śaivas, and among the followers of Madhvācharya, these differences have not been responsible to the slightest extent for breeding either a factious spirit among them or differentiating their religious dogma; but unfortunately the Śrī Vaiṣṇava caste mark has been the parent of a number of ills which really detract from the catholicity which is claimed to be the basic principle of the followers of Śrī Rāmānuja. The great Ācharya who was the first to recognize the claims of even the most depressed classes to a position of equality with the highest of castes never would have given religious sanction to the *namam* or caste mark as it is worn to-day, if he had dreamed that that same would, in dividing

itself into two styles, bring about an irreparable breach between his followers. The principle is common to both. Three streaks, the middle one being yellow or red put on the face are there whether the wearers are Vaḍagalais or Tengalais. Whereas the former connect the streaks on either side with a curved white line between the eyebrows, the latter wanted to give a support, which they drew on the bridge of the nose. As can be seen on the sketch appended, the mark of the Vaḍagalais resembles the English letter U, and that of the Tengalais the letter Y. The terms Vaḍagalai and Tengalai mean those that take their stand on Sanskrit the language of the north, or Tamil the language of the south. Both are agreed that the one is as necessary as the other. The Tengalais approve of the Vedas as much as the Vaḍagalais the *Tiruvīmoli*. On festive occasions when the gods are taken in procession, the Vaḍagalais go chanting the Vedas, occasionally joined in by the Tengalais behind the gods, and the Tengalais the *Tiruvōymuli* before the gods. The two Vedas are symbolical of the out and back riders attending on the person of a king in progress. The polite style of addressing Śrī Vaiṣṇavas is ubhaya vedānta (well versed in the two Vedas, Sanskrit and Tamil). Before these sharp distinctions came to appear in all their fanatic spirit, the idols themselves were without these marks either in the form of U or Y, except for a single perpendicular mark broader at the base and narrower at the top, put in the centre of the face, exactly where appears the red streak on the face of the *namam* wearing people now. This is the case in most of the temples of Northern India, where the factious spirit has not fortunately come to prevail. Besides, of the two forms of the same deity the *Mūlavar* and the *Utsavar*, the one rooted in the temple, of a bigger frame, and the other intended to be taken in procession, it is the former that wears the marks, but only occasionally the latter. Instead of the white and red streaks, the single black *Tilakam* is put on the face of the latter usually. The Tengalais and Vaḍagalais are both placed in the same situation as regards the authority they are likely to quote regarding the form of the mark for nowhere is it definitely stated that the mark should be of this or that form. Most of the references regarding the form point not to three streaks but to only one, as the mark it is said should resemble either a flame, bamboo leaf, tortoise, mace, lotus-lily or fish. In the Paramēṣṭi Samhita it is said that each of the castes should have a form of its own. If the mark of the Brahman is of the form spoken of above that of a Kshatriya should be like a crescent, the Vaisyas must be of a rounded form, and that of the Sudras horizontal:—clearly therefore Tengalai or Vaḍagalai marks find no mention in the Śāstras, if it comes to a point of their insisting that the mark could not be of any other form but what they wear. The Tengalai form evidently came into vogue when the Śrī Vaiṣṇavas themselves came to be differentiated in their doctrines, and this is dated from the period of Pīlailokācharya, i.e. about

the thirteenth century A.D. Even then it was meant to distinguish the one from the other, but not to be a sign of strife.

Evidently there could have been no Tēngalais before the spread of Aryans in the South. Whatever may be the antiquity ascribed to Tamil, according to the view of the religious conservatives, everything must have been Vaḍakalai, as that was the language in which the wisdom of the Vedas is enshrined, the Tēngalai or Tamil being the language which was later on used to convey the essence of the Vedas which the Śaivas call *Tiruvāśa-kam* and Śrī Vaiṣṇavas *Tiruvōimoli*. Incidentally it might be mentioned that the Tamil language is the parent of the other Dravidian languages, and it was not strange therefore that it should be used as the vehicle of the religious conversion of the people of the South. In fact the Sudras and the illiterate who could not have the privilege of the knowledge of the Sanskrit were intended to be benefited by the Tamil Vedas.

Just as the Śrī Vaiṣṇavas have a philosophy and a mark peculiar to themselves so also they adopted a colour, white, not generally in favour with the others. Gopi or slightly yellow being the distinct colour of the mark of the Mādhyas, and ash or sandal colour that of the Smārtas. Strangely enough though in most of the Smṛtis there is no mention of space between the streaks of the marks for the obvious reason that the streak was one not many, yet Nārāyaṇa in a discourse with Brahma, so says the Purāṇa, inculcates that there should be a space between the streaks, for any one that wears the marks without a space intended for the residence of Nārāyaṇa and Lakshmī, divides them and thus commits a grievous sin and that if he does not wear it beautifully, he will not be acceptable to the god.

In the Tēngalai hagiology, in the biography of Rāmānuja mention is made how, after the lapse of a few years, while he was making his stay at Melkote, the supply of white earth he brought from Srirangam, had considerably diminished, without there being any chance of its being replenished. Weighted with this anxiety, when he retired to sleep that night, in his dream, god Nārāyaṇa appeared and directed him to a spot, lovely in its surroundings even to-day, where he could find the substance in plenty. I am of opinion that this story only emphasises the mention made in the *Sthalapurāṇa* of the same place how Garuḍa (the Brahmin kite) the principal vehicle of Nārāyaṇa in his search for the crown of god found missing in heaven, came with a quantity of the white earth from Śvētā Dvīpa or the White Island, and deposited it at Melkote. The white earth found here is considered sacred, and a brisk trade is carried on by the people of the place during the grand festival which takes place here every March. These references indicate the long use of the white earth among the followers of Viṣṇu, and its extensive use by the Śrī Vaiṣṇavas from at least about the eighth or ninth century, the probable period of the purāṇa mentioned above.

If one orthodox Vaiṣṇava meets another each prostrates before the other, as the space between them is for the time being occupied by the all-pervading god, and it is for this reason that Vaiṣṇavas are commanded to wear the marks.

A certain section of the Tēngalais will not give up the view that the mark they wear is anything but the feet of the living god, because of a casual reference made to the resemblance of the mark that it should be in the form of *haripāthākṛiti* which means of the form of the foot of god. When mention was made before that it should be like a flame, or bamboo leaf, of course, it was not meant that we were wearing the flame or bamboo leaf. They forget that the feet of god however appropriate they may be on the face of the devotee, certainly could not be appropriate on his face. This incongruous position is not exaggerated as any one can see in the face of the Śūdra Vaiṣṇas, and in the first page of religious books of the Tēngalais, that in the place of the two white streaks two feet are placed with the toes distinctly marked out, and both connected with a horizontal, not curved streak, with the usual inevitable support. Even the Tēngalais, when they wear the mark on other parts of the body than the face, do not give it the support. It is interesting to inquire what the Vāḍagalai has to offer in explanation regarding the rationale of the mark on the face of the gods. Āchārya Vedānta Deśika has disposed of the question by saying that it is only an ornament to the gods and a powerful reminder to us, that we are Śrī Vaiṣṇava Bhaktas.

The Śrī Vaiṣṇavas unlike most other sects are of opinion the marks should not be worn on parts of the body below the waist as these are unclean. Orthodox Śrī Vaiṣṇavas, whether Tēngalai or Vāḍagalai should wear on even ordinary days—twelve marks after the twelve names of Viṣṇu. First the white earth must be rubbed in the hollow of the left hand (palm) with special mantras. They should be worn on the face—one, on the neck—four, on the two arms—two, and the stomach—four, on the back just a little over the hip—one. After these *namams* are drawn in their proper position, the hand should be cleaned, and the red powder must be mixed with water, and put in the middle of the white marks as a single streak. The *dvādaśa namam* or twelve marks can only be worn by those that have already been purified by the branding of the disc and conch of Viṣṇu on the right and left shoulders. This is the initiation proper when the āchārya puts into the ears of the initiate, unheard by others, the eight letters of Viṣṇu or *aṣṭākṣaram*, and a special form of invocation of the āchāryas and ālvārs to intercede on his behalf for the attainment of *mokṣam*.

Marīchi Māhaṛṣi says that the marks must be four inches high two inches broad with space between. The marks worn on the breast, stomach, back of the body, and hands being eight inches.

Both *Paramēṣṭi Samhita* and *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* are agreed that the earth required for the mark must be had from a spot pure in its surroundings, and preferably from the soils near the rivers, on the hills, or from Viṣṇu shrines. Where the sacred *tulasi* plant grows, the earth is made pure as *tulasi* is only a form of Lakshmī. Though Svēta Mrit or white earth, such as is invariably used now has been the favourite substance, yet sanction is given to the wearing of earth of other colours, each kind having an efficacy of its own.

Śyāman śāntikaram, pītham puṣṭidham raktamrittika

Vaśyadham, śvetam sadhā puṇyam, mokṣadham munisattama.

The black colour gives peace, yellow gives strength, red colour gives influence, white gives eternal bliss and confers heaven.

As regards *śrī chūrṇa* i.e. the power of Śrī or Lakshmī, the red streak worn in the middle of the white marks, in the Svarṇo Upanaishad, it is said 'It should be made of sandal, saffron, musk, gold and tulasi. It should be a mixture of these, half of the mixture being turmeric.' The red streak is given a greater importance perhaps of its being regarded more beautiful or easier to draw, so much so that even Brahmins who should wear it along with the white marks, do not draw these latter at all, or but faintly. The red dot of the Śrī Vaiṣṇavas has invaded the faces of the ash-wearing Śaivas, and also succeeded in expelling the *Tiryak pundram*. The orthodox, of course, of the Śaivas usually wear the horizontal mark made of sacred *vibhūti*, but when they go to temples they are offered the saffron powder worn by the Amman the goddess which they wear in the centre of the *vibhūti*. In performing the funeral ceremonies of the agnates, the Śrī Vaiṣṇava Brahmins are not to wear the *śrī chūrṇa* as Lakshmī is for the time absent from them. It is only after the pollution is over that they can wear it. Though widowed ladies, to indicate their condition, should wear the crescent like white streak between the eyebrows, they are allowed to put a small red dot a little above the middle of the white mark perhaps, to indicate the happiness of their surviving relations.

A word might be said here of the principle of the mark of the Vaḍagalais. They quote authorities to prove that the mark should resemble the foot of god, but not feet, and draw our attention to the U-shaped line in the hood of the cobra; they insist that all the resemblances given before, the bamboo leaf, flame, etc., admit of no drawing of the mark down, but would convince us of the form of a curve. The *gopi* wearers and most people of Northern India, wear a mark the form being that of the Vaḍagalais.

The Tēngalais and Vaḍagalais are severely divided from each other on a number of points. I purposely do not enumerate them here as they can be understood, only if each is elucidated in detail, for which I have not the

time or the qualification. One of such differences is whether Lakshmi or the female energy, the consort of Viṣṇu is co-omnipresent and co-illimitable with Viṣṇu. The Tēngalais do not give it the importance which the Vāḍagalais would give it, and strangely enough they forget they cannot call themselves Śrī Vaiṣṇavas, for Śrī or Lakshmi it is what gives the saving grace to their faith, which otherwise would become simple Vaiṣṇavaism.

Though Lakshmi might be subordinate to Viṣṇu as his consort, it is none of the business of the devotee to take note of it except to own his allegiance to her placed far above him, and holding a position which enables her always to intercede on his behalf. The doctrine of the Śrī Vaiṣṇavas stands the danger of becoming as delusive as that of the Śaivas unless Lakshmi the female energy or *prakṛti* is given an importance by being made the consort of God, which results in the creation of the world—the world of reality. Of the Tṛimūrtis or the trinity a witty poet says, Viṣṇu has his consort in his breast, Pārvati occupies half the body of Śiva, and Brahma makes Sarasvati to reside in his tongue; Oh! what should be the condition of the man who is obliged to have his wife on his head? The inference naturally therefore is the god head is complete only when it is shared with the female energy.

Another interesting presentation of their peculiar philosophy is that the Vāḍagalais follow the *Markaṭa Nyāya*; the procedure of the monkey, which in leaping from one branch of the tree to another, takes no heed of its young ones, and leaves them where they are, unless the young ones of their own accord cling fast to the parent, when they are carried with all tender care. So also, if the bhakta, convinced of his sins, feels penitent and prays to god for salvation, God takes pity on him and confers on him *mokṣa* or the unending bliss.

The Tēngalais take example from the cat and call it *Mārjāra Nyāya*. Here the kitten whether it mews or not for help to its parent, is carried by its mother of its own volition; so also, by the fact of one being a Śrī Vaiṣṇava, by the privilege of being born in that faith or adopting it, every one is entitled to *mokṣa*.

The Tēngalais contend that bhakti alone will secure heaven, Vāḍagalais assert that bhakti must be coupled with vaidika karmānuṣṭhāna, i.e. religious ceremonials to secure *mokṣa*.

The Vāḍagalais say that whereas they commence the sacred recital in the temples (the technical terms in Tamil being *Toḍakkam*) with *Śrī Rāmānujadayā pātram*, a beginning in keeping with their faith as they are the followers of Śrī Rāmānuja though this Rāmānuja is the spiritual preceptor of Vedānta Desika, the Tēngalais would commence with *Śrī Śailēsa dayā pātram*, Śrī Śailēsa being the āchārya of their āchārya—Śrī Maṇavāla Mahāmuni. If it is good to pay this reverential regard to their āchārya's

guru how much more appropriate to commemorate the guru of all Śrī Vaiṣṇavas Śrī Rāmānuja. Some differences not pointed out in other books relating to those two sections of Śrī Vaiṣṇavas are :—

(1) That while commencing to eat the Vaḍagalais take *Hastodhakam*, water for the hand. The significance of this being that no action is properly done unless done with both the hands. So much so that the left hand which touches the leaf plate should be cleansed as it is rendered unclean. The Tengalais do not admit of this.

(2) A seawater bath (the water being saltish), a bath in the holy river Ganges (as the water had fallen from the head of Śiva with whom devout Vaiṣṇavas must have nothing to do) and panchagavya (i.e. the mixture of five of the substances from the cow—(urine, dung, milk, ghee and curd) because of its being distasteful or horrid to their sense, are forbidden.

(3) *Śrāddhas* (annual ceremonies for the dead) are not performed if they fall on *Ekādaśī*, the eleventh day after the new or full moon, as it is intended for fasting. Here the Tengalais quote as many authorities as the Vaḍagalais from the Śāstras.

(4) They do not pay much heed to *Yagñas* and *Yāgas*. (Sacrificial ceremonies.)

(5) They prostrate themselves only once before the gods, whereas the Vaḍagalais would not prostrate themselves less than twice, for Rāmānuja in *Gadya Triam* requires the people to prostrate again and again.

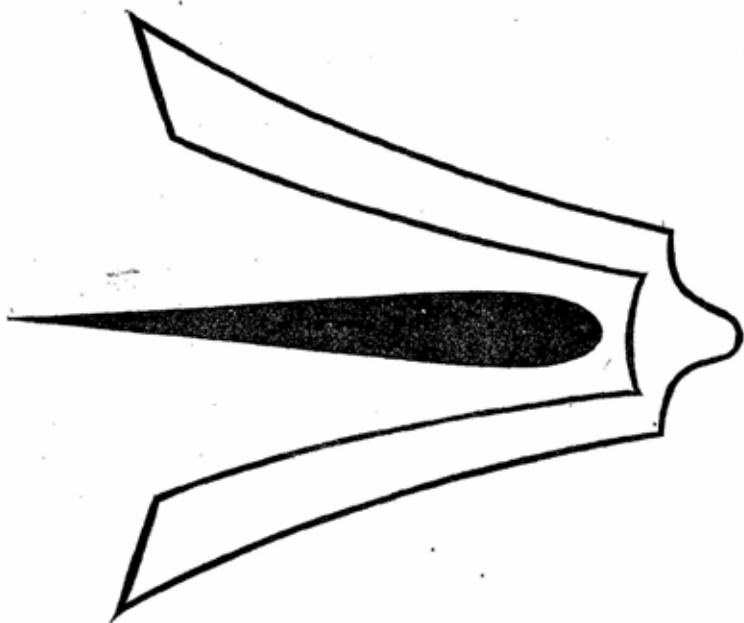
(6) Their Sanyasis prostrate themselves in turn to the disciples when they prostrate themselves before them.

(7) No bell is rung in domestic worship, though it is allowed in their temples.

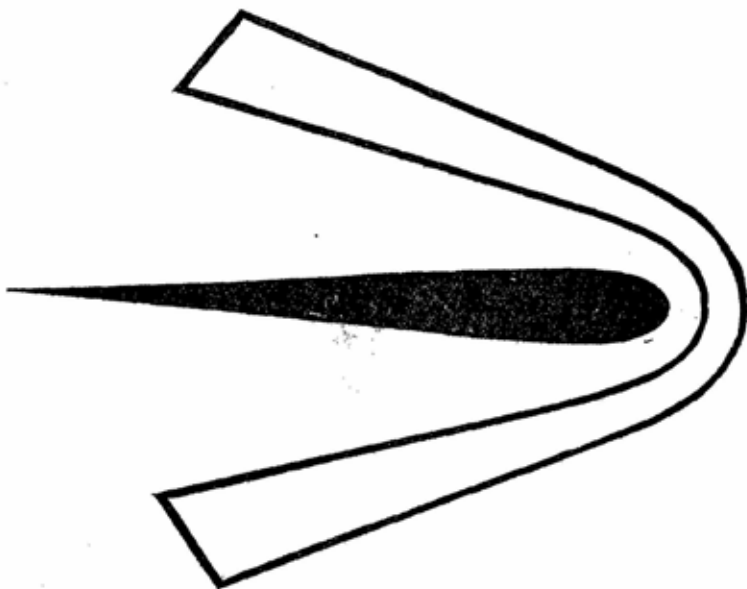
(8) The tonsure of woman is a most vexing difference. There are authorities in number to prove that both the procedures are permissible. The disfigurement of the widow is fine feeling carried too far.

No one knows more than myself that I have hardly done justice to the subject of this paper. I am really ashamed to confess I have but a poor knowledge of Sanskrit which alone would unlock the priceless treasures hoarded by the wisdom of the great men of India of old. The very little information I have been able to lay before you this evening is not so much mine as that of the pandits well learned in the Śāstras who were so kind as to render me willing assistance.

TENGALAI



VADAGALAI



SOME PRIMITIVE TRIBES IN INDIA

A Paper read before the Mythic Society

BY A. MERVYN SMITH, ENGINEER, M.I.M.M., LONDON

THIS paper makes no profession of dealing in a scientific manner with the origin of the peoples described, nor does it treat of their ethnology. It merely gives my impression of some wild tribes I have met with in the course of my journeying in India in search of the metal which, more than any other, rules the destinies of civilized nations. Perhaps there is no profession in the world that brings one more closely in contact with uncivilized man than that of the Mining Engineer. The nature of his calling—the exploration of untrodden ground in the search of metals takes him away from the haunts of civilization into wilds unutterable, the home of savage man and beast.

The Hindus pride themselves on a civilization as old as any in the world yet side by side with highly cultured communities, we find tribes but little removed from our ideas of primitive man.

THE MULCHERS

Perhaps one of the most degraded of these is the Mulchers, an aboriginal people inhabiting the dense forest of the Koondah Mountains (a spur of the Nilgherries). These people, I should say, are one of the lowest in the human scale, of the many wild tribes that inhabit the forests of India. The stamp of the brute is strong in them; the face, body and limbs covered with wiry hair, the hang of the long powerful arms, the stoop of the trunk, the flat feet, the stupid vacant expression of the face, the absence of all clothing, is it any wonder that they are frequently mistaken for the Orang-otang or wild man of the woods. When prospecting for gold at the foot of the Koondah Mountains, I thought I saw a gigantic ape peering at me from a clump of parasitic plants, high up on a forest tree. I put up my gun to shoot it, when my Moplah Maistry said 'Don't fire Sahib, those are men.' 'Men' said I, 'Yes, wild men Mulchers.' He cooed to them and said something in a patois I did not understand and after some hesitation one of the Mulchers lowered a rope-like vine, down which he clambered just like a monkey, grasping the suspended branch of the creeping plant between the great and next toe of each foot, and with the aid of his hand he practically walked down the ropeway with the greatest ease. He appeared to be about 30 years of age, was

guiltless of clothing. He had an abnormal growth of reddish brown hair on his chest and the backs of his arms, and a slighter growth all over his body, with the exception of his head and face, which were hairless. His arms were of extraordinary length reaching below his knees. His thumbs appeared to be disproportionately short, and the soles of his feet not well developed but soft and flabby so that he could not walk for any distance. My Moplah Maistry told me that the Mulchers lived in the trees as a protection from leeches which infest these forests during the rains and also from wild beasts. They live on Yams of various kinds which grew wild in the forest and on honey and wax. On finding a honey-comb they greedily devoured larvae, wax and honey. I wrote a description of these people to Mr. Buckland the Naturalist in London and I learned from him that the Duke of Argyle (the grand-father of the present Duke) in his book 'Primitive Man' has a full account of these people from the pen of Professor Owen who visited this locality. They were not very numerous and as Thurston makes no mention of them in his monumental work on South Indian Ethnology perhaps they have died out altogether.

THE KADIRS

Another primitive tribe inhabiting the forests of the Anamalais an Eastern escarpment of the Shayadri Mountains are the Kadirs. They are found in small numbers in all the forest clad region of the Ghauts, from Travancore to North Kanara. As their name signifies, they are a forest tribe, at home only in the primeval forests of this damp region, portions of which receive the heaviest rainfall in the world. Before the advent of the Coffee-planter and the Forest-Officer, the Kadirs had their little hamlets in small clearings in the heart of the forest. A small patch of ground was cultivated with millet and *Samai* (a grass-like plant with tiny seed resembling rye). These encampments were temporary and never occupied for more than a season or two. The Kadirs are expert hunters and use the bow and arrow with effect. They are very dirty feeders and don't object to carrion. Even the bones of animals killed are gnawed until the marrow-yielding portions are devoured. The only clothing, if clothing it could be called, was that worn by their women, a small wooden comb in the hair and great circles of palm-leaf in the holes of their ears. The men had even less. The Kadirs have been described by so many writers that I can add but little to what has been already written, and would only draw attention to the peculiar custom of chipping the front teeth of both jaws to a fine point, a practice also common to the Coromantee tribe of Negroes on the west coast of Africa. I have photographs of some of these West African Negroes sent to me by my son, and comparing them with photographs of the Kadirs given in Thurston's South Indian Ethnology one cannot help seeing the close resemblance. Another singular custom common to West African Negroes and Negroid tribes on the

west coast of India is that on the accouchement of the wife, the husband takes to bed for seven days and is doctored and coddled, while the wife goes about her daily labour, a few hours after child-birth. There is a Tamil proverb regarding this singular custom, I dare say some of our Tamil friends will be able to repeat it. It begins 'Korathée pulla pethal, Koravan Kayam Sappittan.' How are we to account for these very singular customs among tribes separated as far as West India and West Africa. Geologists tell us that the Arabian Sea was at one time a continent connecting India and Abyssinia. To this they give the name Lemuria from the squirrel-like animals said to be peculiar to it. Are the Kadirs, Punniars, Kurambas and other Negroid tribes found in the dense forest-clad Western Ghats the remnants of a people inhabiting Lemuria at one time? What is the object of chipping the front teeth of both sexes? Is it to facilitate the scraping of flesh adhering to bones of animals they feed on, or is it a tribal totem? These are questions that some member of this Society may be able to answer.

THE LAOCHINS

It is a big jump from South India to the Upper Chindwin a matter of 2,000 miles in a direct line, but a Mining Engineer has to go where he is ordered by the powers that be. A new line of railway was being traced from Mandalay to the Chinese frontier beyond Mitchina; a couple of adventurous Belgians had received a contract for some earthwork near Kathay. In their search for labour, they said they had struck a region rich in gold, on the Upper Chindwin. They threw up their contract and appeared in Calcutta with several decent sized nuggets and some ounces of gold-dust. They offered to sell their discovery to some Calcutta capitalists, and I was directed to go and verify the find. As the Chindwin was a notoriously disturbed district and the Laos were noted head-hunters, I had to apply for permission to visit this district from the Revenue Secretary to the Government of Burmah. I called on this gentleman at his office in Rangoon. He received me courteously, but on learning my mission, he absolutely refused to grant me a permit, as it was not safe to go among the Laos without an armed escort, and this he could not spare at that time as the country north of Mandalay was still in a disturbed state owing to the recent war with Theebaw. I told him I was not afraid to travel without an armed escort as I always went well armed myself. He laughed and said that even if I had a dozen revolvers on my person I would be only one among many head-hunting savages and I was certain to be killed. I told him I had something more efficacious than firearms, and that I always carried these weapons in my hand-bag. He was anxious to see these wonderful life preservers, when I took from my bag a bottle of bright coloured sugared almonds, a bundle of cigars and a tin of Swiss milk. I said I had travelled over the wildest parts

of Burmah without firearms and always found the sugared almonds, cigars and condensed milk of use. When I entered a strange village I walked a little way ahead of my servants, whistling as I went along. Presently a youngster would peer out at me from behind the poles on which the Burmese build their houses. I would offer a bright coloured sugared almond to the little one. If it were too frightened to come, I would throw the sweetie gently towards it and walk on. A number of children would gather round the strange object and one bolder than the rest would take it up and then taste it. It would pass from hand to hand each taking an eager suck. Soon I would have quite a following of youngsters and to each I would give a sugared almond, when off they would run with their booty to their mothers. Then the women would come out to look at the stranger who gave nice things to their children. Knowing that all Burmese women smoke, I would offer the ladies cigars and soon I was friends with the whole village. 'But what do you do with the tinned milk' said the now laughing Secretary. 'Oh! that is my great standby.' I always lodge if I can in the Pungee Choung, or Buddhist monastery to be found in most Burmese villages. The monks won't smoke nor do they care for sugared almonds, but they are inordinately fond of honey, and they believe that condensed milk is sugary honey. I have seen a fat old monk take a freshly opened tin of milk, toss back his head and allow every drop to drain down his throat and then set down the empty tin with a sigh of satisfaction. So I make friends with the Pungees thus straightening out all difficulties. I lived in the Choung without fear. They found me carriers for my luggage and gave me all the information I wanted, and even sent on a lay brother in advance to announce the expected arrival of their whiteman friend, to the brotherhood of the next village I visited. The Belgians did not put in an appearance so I set off to Kathay to find the place for myself from the description given by the discoverers, and it was on the upper marches of the Chindwin to the west of the Mangthoung Mountains that I made the acquaintance of the Laochins. My interpreter told me the Laochins were half monkeys, and that they lived in caves. The hills in this region abound in caves, some natural and others made by man while quarrying out blocks of white alabaster from which the Burmese carve their images of Bhudda. I came across a colony of these people in one of the large quarries. They were feeding at the time on a substance that looked like green paste. This I found afterwards to be 'La Pay' (pickled tea) a common condiment used all over north Burmah and Thibet. They were not in the least alarmed at our approach but went on calmly chewing and swallowing the tea leaves. They appeared to be perfectly nude, and to be covered with a coarse greyish hair. On closer inspection, I found they wore a close fitting garment made from the skin of the giant Baboon found on these hills. When they kill a Baboon they strip off the skin

from the carcase after cutting off the head, half the upper arms and the lower part of the body from near the tail. The warm skin is drawn over the body of the Lao with the hair outside and this shirt is never taken off until it drops to pieces with wear. It is this hairy coat that accounts for their being mistaken for Baboons. They are a very simple people. Their chief diet is pickled tea. The tea tree is indigenous in this district, and it grows to a height of from twenty to thirty feet and has a stem about nine inches in diameter. The young tea leaves are plucked off, in bunches of half a dozen on a single stalk, a little earth-salt is sprinkled over the leaves and they are rammed into hollow bamboos and steamed. The ends of the bamboo tube are luted with damp clay and the tea stored away for future use. Thus pickled the leaves will keep good for years. They also eat a large white grub found in the bark of the Gurgeon trees which abound in the valleys. I would like to draw special attention to their method of making a fire by friction. Among the Kolarian and pre-Dravidian tribes of Hindustan Proper a dry twig of soft wood is laid horizontally on the ground and held in position by the feet. A pencil of hard wood with a pointed end is inserted perpendicularly in a small hole in the horizontal twig and the pencil is revolved rapidly backward and forward between the palms of the hand. The friction thus generated soon sets the soft wood burning, and this is blown to a flame. Among the Mongolian tribes of Further India (Burmah and Thibet) this method is never practised. A piece of dry bamboo is cracked along its length. Into this crack a little bamboo dust scraped from the interior of the horizontal piece, is inserted. Another piece of dry bamboo is used like a saw across the horizontal piece and the friction soon sets the bamboo dust alight. I have not seen this fact mentioned in books of travel.

It is little customs, like the chipping of the teeth; the wearing of the comb; the husband going to bed when the wife has a child; the different methods of making a fire; that are aids in tracing descent, more than language, or shape of the skull, or length of the nose.

THE JUANGS

The following description of the Juangs I have taken from an article I contributed to the *Calcutta Statesman* some years ago:

In the winter of 1890 I was engaged in prospecting for gold on the hills forming the boundary between the native states of Bonai and Keonjur, in South-Western Bengal. The whole of that portion of the Bengal Presidency known as Chota Nagpore with the tributary Mahals of Orissa are made up of hills varying from 1 to 4,000 feet in height and covered with dense forests. Until the opening of the Bengal-Nagpore Railway which now passes through the heart of this region, this part of the country was scarcely known to Europeans. Witch-burning, human sacrifice (meriah)

and cannibalism were until very recently universally practised by the savage tribes inhabiting this wild region, and the records of the criminal courts at Ranchee and Chyebassa show that instances of these horrible practices are not unknown even at the present day. The tribes inhabiting this tract of country are chiefly of Kolarian descent, supposed by some to be the oldest of the races which invaded India from the North-East; by others, the aboriginies of the country. The particular district I was prospecting is, perhaps, the least known part of this wild region. The hills here rise to more than 4,000 feet in elevation and are covered with dense vegetation. Few and far between are the small patches of cultivation surrounding the huts of a few Lurka Khol, Bhumij and Gond. It is the boast of the Raja of one of these States that he can ride forty miles in a direct line within his dominions without seeing a human habitation. Wheeled traffic is unknown in the uplands, and it was with greatest difficulty that my camp baggage had been transported thus far on pack bullocks. My little hill-tent had been pitched on the banks of the Korsua, an affluent of the Brahmini river in Bonai, and I was working up towards the Keonjur frontier. It was midday. We had a heavy tramp along the banks of the little stream, washing a dish or two of earth as we went, in all likely looking places. The yellow metal was scarce, and beyond a 'colour or two' our day's work had been blank. I had with me Mookroo, my Khol handy man and a couple of jhora gold-washers. We were resting awhile under the shade of a huge Sal tree; my companions were eating a little snuff—a common stimulant among men, women and children in these parts—and I was stretched at full length and munching a biscuit, when suddenly all of us sprang to our feet as peal upon peal of girlish laughter rang out from the direction of a pool of deep water in the river, a hundred yards or so below the spot where we were resting.

What could it be? There was not a village within ten miles. My own camp was fully that distance down stream, yet the laughter was certainly human and girlish. Mookroo was off at once to reconnoitre, while we stood silent and expectant. The Khol returned in a few minutes and told us it was a party of Juangs or wild people who had come down to the pool to bathe, and that the women and children were in the water and probably the men were in the forest on the other side of the stream. I had heard much of the Juangs, by some described as gigantic monkeys, by others as wild people of the woods, who wore no clothing and lived in trees. We made a detour and stealthily advanced in the direction of the pool where a strange sight met our gaze. The whole party, consisting of ten persons, men, women and children were assembled on the bank, performing their toilet. The women were innocent of clothing, beyond the garb of mother. Eve after her expulsion from the Garden of Eden, but instead of fig-leaves

sewn together, each Juang woman had a narrow cord round the waist to which were suspended a few Sal leaves in front, and a large bunch behind. I afterwards learnt that it was only the married women that are permitted by Juang custom to use such little covering, the unmarried girls going entirely naked. The men wear a narrow strip of plantain bark as a *lungotee*. I asked Mookroo if he could induce them to come over to our side of the stream. Hejumay! Hejumay! (Come here! come here!) he shouted in the Khol dialect and the whole group vanished as if they had sunk into the ground. Not a rustle in the bushes, not a moving object to be seen; yet they were there just now, and gone the instant after. We searched the ground minutely without finding any trace of them. I was much disappointed as I wished to make a closer acquaintance with this wild people. Mookroo said that if I returned to my tent he would remain behind and he felt confident he would be able to induce them to visit my camp, if I promised them tobacco of which they were very fond. In the evening Mookroo returned with a party of ten of these people. A liberal donation of tobacco, rice and coarse sugar soon made us good friends and they quickly lost all fear. Apparently the white man was as much an object of curiosity to them as they were to me. They could not understand my white skin at all and they wanted to know from Mookroo if I painted my hands and face white. They said I was black beneath my clothing as they had seen my ankles below my trousers. On tucking up my trousers they pointed to my black socks and said I was blacker than they were; and when I lowered my socks to show them that my skin was white, they darted off to the jungles in fright and said I was taking off my skin like a snake.

Some months later a party of seventeen Juangs visited my camp at Somij and I then learnt much of their manners and customs. They appeared to have no notion of number except one and many. They cannot grasp the idea of two. I asked a woman how many children she had. She said 'Many—not one but many.' She had but two. They measure limited time by the withering of the Sal leaf. 'How far is such a place?' As far as two Sal leaves take to wither i.e., twelve hours journey or thirty-six miles, a Sal leaf, they say, takes about six hours to wither. Different seasons of the year are determined by such expression as 'When the pea fowl lays' 'When the mohua tree blooms'. 'In the rice harvest' 'When the nights are cold'.

On one occasion I was treated to a Juang nautch and certainly nothing quainter or more amusing in the terpsichorean art has come under my notice. The women do all the dancing, the men taking only a subordinate part. They would not dance before my bungalow. I had to go to the forest to witness the dancing. A small clearing of undergrowth had been made in the jungle near my bungalow, and on one side of this clearing the spectators

were asked to station themselves. The first item on the programme was the 'Peacock Dance'. The clearing was quite bare; the Juangs were nowhere to be seen. Suddenly the harsh scream of the peacock was heard some distance off. The imitation was perfect. Now there was a rustling in the bushes and three Juang maidens, squatting low on their hams, with arms bent close to their sides to represent wings, and necks craned forward as if listening, showed themselves on the edge of the clearing. After peering about in the quaintest manner for a few seconds, they all three hopped forward (still on their hams) and began chasing one another about, heads almost touching the ground, and emitting the peculiar chirp of peahens when performing their matutinal frolic. Now one would throw up the leaves and earth with her feet, and pretend to pick up food. If another hen attempted to eat in the same place, there was a rush at the poacher, and a few sal leaves were torn from her tail amid shrill screams as she took to flight. Now enters the cock bird, distinguished from the hens by its greater abundance of sal leaves for a tail and a tuft of leaves on the head. With one hand spreading the tail high and giving it a jerky motion, he struts round the females, just as a turkey-cock does. Suddenly he stops his strut, as the scream of a rival is heard in the distance. His tail is at once dropped from its elevated position, his head thrown back and chest protruded. Then the head is shot forward and the answering challenge is given, as he advances in the direction of his expected rival. The scream is repeated several times by the rival cocks, and then the combat begins. This was the most amusing part of the show, and must be seen in its utter ludicrousness to be appreciated. Watch a pair of country cocks making a great show of fight, yet half-afraid to come to close quarters, and you have a good idea of what took place. The two women representing the peacocks would face each other, about ten paces apart, heads lowered to the dust, and their attitude seeming to say, 'Come on, if you dare!' Then one would begin to crow, but before he was half through his note of defiance, the other would prance forward a few paces. This went on until they came face to face—and now for the duel! Heads wagging close together and tails jerking spasmodically suddenly both birds spin round, and clash come their tails together, and the feathers (leaves) fly. Again they face, and again they spin round, and whack go the tail bunches, amid the shrieks of laughter of the hen birds. Now they spin round continuously, the tails going 'whack, whack,' till no tails are left, when one of the combatants sinks down exhausted, and with a shrill scream of triumph the victor struts off with the hens.

The vulture dance is even quainter, but time will not permit me to describe it.

Chota-Nagpur is made up of some dozen of more tributary States each governed by its own Chief. All of these Chiefs claimed to be Rajputs or

Ksatriyas. They exercise a mild sovereignty over these wild tribes who acknowledge their sovereign rights by doing a few days service free of charge. Thus the Juangs bring in loads of firewood, the Joras contribute fish, the Khols procure game, the Gonds till the fields. A description of one of these Chiefs—the Raja of Bonai will give some idea of the petty chieftains.

The Raja, a fine old sportsman himself, is only too ready to give permission to European gentlemen to shoot over his estate and will, on occasion, join in the sport and bring with him a most unique armoury of offensive weapons. He will at such times be attended by match-lock men armed with bell-mouthed smooth-bores, having a barrel seven feet long, and a straight stock with a crutch-end to fit round the shoulder. It takes three men to fire off such a piece. A forked stick is first planted in the ground, and on this the barrel rests. One man places the crutch-end against his shoulder and aims, while a second plants himself immediately behind, back to back, as a buttress against the recoil. A third stands on one side and blows vigorously at the match, and the first brings it down into the pan by means of a rude kind of trigger. The animal is supposed to stand still while all these varied operations are going on! Then there is a fizz-fizz-fizz-bang! And after the volumes of smoke have cleared away, the two men behind the barrel, who have been sent sprawling by the recoil, pick themselves up, carefully search for the gun, which will be lying somewhere about, and then set out to see the effects of the shot. If by chance an animal has been shot, great is the jubilation. The aimer at once takes rank among the Raja's following as a 'marksman'. 'If a janwar (wild animal) is shot by one of my men it seldom survives,' said the Raja; and I can well believe this, for two large handfuls of locally manufactured powder and several murderous-looking slugs form the usual charge of one of these match-locks. Since the opening of the railway the fine sal-forests of the valley and the supposed mineral wealth of the State have been the means of increasing the Raja's armoury with specimens of most kinds of modern small arms. Revolvers (rim and central fire) smooth bores; rifles, Colt's repeating rifles; Paradox and other guns, with and without ammunition, are among the offerings of would-be *concessionnaires*. But our Rajput Chief dislikes modern fire-arms and in this view he is strongly supported by his following. "In modern times everything is getting miserly," says this study representative of the kingly class. "In my time everything was large; men were large, guns were large, the charges were large, and sport was sport. Now a puttass (cracker) goes "pitt"; there is no noise, no smoke, even the man behind holding the gun is not thrown down; is it likely then, that the animal in front will be killed? No, no; give me my father's guns, and I am satisfied'. Accordingly the well meant presents of the gun-makers' best work are stored away with time-pieces and cuckoo clocks, tinsel robes of state, mirrors, and other frippery,

only to be brought out on great occasions to parade before the Raja's few European visitors. An attempt was once made to utilize some of the ammunition, and on one occasion several central-fire revolver cartridges were rammed into a match-lock as slugs. When discharged the barrel burst, and the man blowing the match had his ear and the greater portion of his scalp taken off, since when even these 'modern slugs' are viewed with suspicion.

From the foregoing it will be seen that there is much to interest one, in the manners and customs of these primitive tribes. To get a correct idea of the ethnology of the Hindus one must study the people, not in the towns, but in the jungle, where curious tribal customs still prevail.

NOTES AND REVIEWS

BY THE EDITOR

THE *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for January, 1915, has among articles of the usual varied interest one that opens a new era in Indian historical research, namely, the Zoroastrian period of Indian History, as Dr. Spooner calls it. This contribution is the result of the excavations carried on extensively by Dr. Spooner himself on the site of the ancient Patalipura, following the lead of Col. Waddell's indications of the site. This work of the Archæological Department was made possible by the munificence of Mr. Ratan Tata of Bombay and the work could not have been entrusted to better hands than Dr. Spooner's by the Director-General of Archæology in India. We have already had an idea of the importance of this exploration work in the annual report of the Archæological Survey, Eastern Circle, of previous years. As a result of the excavations Dr. Spooner is now able to put forward his own statement of Persian influence on Indian History, particularly of the Mauryan Period.

In the neighbourhood of the village of Kumrahar, south of modern Patna, chips of polished stone with curving surface were found by Col. Waddell who took them to be bits of Mauryan pillars of Asokan manufacture. Following this indication, excavations were carried on on the site which resulted in the discovery of a vast pillared hall with clear indications of the columnar rows. There were indications of eight rows of monolithic polished pillars, ten in each row, of which only one pillar survived the general decay. The building, according to Dr. Spooner, 'consisted of a vast pillared hall, presumably square, with stone columns arranged in square base over the entire area, placed at distances of fifteen feet or ten Mauryan cubits, each from each'. Of this, though very common in modern Indian architecture, no example was known so far in the really ancient period of Indian History. Dr. Spooner traces this to Persepolitan influence from the known facts that the sculptured capitals of the Asokan columns show marked affinity to Persepolitan work, and that the edicts of Asoka themselves indicate the influence of Darius's cuneiform inscriptions. Encouraged by these previous indications, to which attention had been drawn by Dr. Marshall, Dr. Spooner finds a striking parallel to this recently unearthed hall in the 'HALL OF A HUNDRED COLUMNS' at

Persepolis which was the throne room of Darius Hystaspes. As far as the circumstances of the case permitted, Dr. Spooner's comparison, detail to detail, led to the inference 'that the structure under excavation really did betray strong Achaemenian influence, and that indeed it looked, even at the early stage of their work curiously like a copy of the Persian Hall'. On further investigation of the whole site and surroundings Dr. Spooner found that the ruins at Kumrahar clearly indicated 'a Mauryan copy of the entire Persepolitan design in all its main essentials'. In his own words, 'enough was clear, however, to show us that not only was our original pillared hall strongly reminiscent of the Persian throne room in even matters of detail, but that its surroundings also showed a parallelism to the Achaemenian site which could not be possibly explained except by the assumption that the one reflected the other definitely.' Although it had been recognized for some time that Persepolis was the channel for most Assyrian forms in India, and that there were considerable borrowings of details in art and architecture, there was nothing which showed so fully the indebtedness to Persia. To postulate Persian influence the following facts would lend support: (1) that Darius counted India amongst his provinces and (2) that the Kharōshthi system of writing has been ascribed to the Aramaic clerks of Achaemenian rule. There are further the Asokan edicts which seem to be echoes of Darius's inscriptions. The columns and capitals, and the evidence of the Mathura Lion Capital would support the postulate strongly. Fortunately for us the evidence for this Persian influence does not stop here as Dr. Spooner finds it in Magasthenes' picture of Chandragupta's court, in addition to the Asokan pillars in their style and substance, and script of the edicts they carry. Add to this the fact that Asoka's viceroy in the west of his dominions was actually a Persian named Tushaspa and 'it is believed that the famous water works he carried out were copies of the Babylonian.' The organization of the empire of Chandragupta give clear indications 'in Public Works, in Ceremonials, in Penal Institutions, everything', according to the same authority. The antecedent circumstances being thus encouraging, Dr. Spooner has no hesitation in interpreting the archaeological evidences at their full face value. Passing in review the evidence of Magasthenes and of the two Chinese travellers Fa Hien and Hiuen Tshang, the doctor would reject Greek influence and assign the hall unearthed to the palace of Bindusara, if not that of Chandragupta basing his inference upon the reference in the Chinese travellers' description that the palace was of workmanship 'which no human hands could accomplish'.

Finding thus a harmony between the evidence of archæology and of the Greek historians, Dr. Spooner proceeds to find literary evidences in support. Naturally he goes for reference to the Mahābhārata and finds that the great hall for Yudhiṣṭhira's Darbar constructed by the 'Asura' architect Maya for

a parallel. He would identify Asura Maya with the Ahura Mazdai of the Zoroastrians. He investigates the details of this Bhārata Palace and finds them agree closely with that at Persepolis. One particular detail in the description found in the Epic is that the roof of the hall is not supported by columns, but is held in position by various figures, giving material expression to the conceptions of gods and other supernatural beings by the architect. This leads him to look again to Persepolis for an existing example that would answer to this description, and he finds it in the so-called hall of hundred columns of Darius.

This opens up a new vista in Indian history, and the promised further investigations of this subject will be looked forward to with expectancy by those interested in such inquiries. In the meanwhile, the character of Maya in Sanskrit literature may be investigated with profit so as to justify or to reject Dr. Spooner's identification—a point not, perhaps, quite material to the discussion of Persian influence.

SOUTH INDIAN ARCHITECTURE: A NEW STUDY

A PUBLICATION by the French Ministry of Public Instruction is the *Archéologie du Sud de L'Inde* by Professor G. Jouveau Dubreuil bearing upon the archaeology of South India. This is practically the first systematic work on South Indian architecture dealing in detail with the various elements that go to constitute the structure—a temple in South India. He deals with the various parts of the temple in Vol. I. and each image sculptured on it in Vol. II. In this manner, according to Mr. Sewell, he brings together material for any student of archaeology to decide for himself the date of any particular piece of architecture by comparison, either of architectural details, or of its iconography, 'by noticing the treatment of the subject, of the emblems, of the dress or of the pose of the figure'. Every argument, it would appear, is enforced by illustrations and the work confines itself to the architecture of the Tamil Dravidians. Let us hope that early efforts will be made to make the work available to the English reading public. Mr. Sewell's review (in the I.R.A.S. for October 1914) however, gives an adequate idea of the book which divides the history of the Dravidian art in the extreme south into five periods, each of 250 years. (1) The Pallava style, A.D. 600-850. (2) The Chola style, A.D. 850-1100. (3) The Pandya style, A.D. 1100-1350. (4) The Vijayanagar style, A.D. 1350-1600, and (5) the Madura style A.D. 1600 to the present day. Although the periods may not be strictly accurate, the Professor insists that the architecture and sculpture of the Tamil country are purely indigenous, and that no foreign element has ever been introduced into it. In the words of Mr. Sewell, 'the temples contain no motive of ornamentation derived from any other source. It has changed by itself by a process of natural evolution since the 7th century A.D., the art of the preceding period being Buddhist. We can trace its gradual change century by century, and in consequence it presents to us a very interesting and a very rare state of things, namely the growth of an architecture isolated from any outside influence. The workmen of each age had their fixed canons as they have to day, and they could only depart from them to a very moderate extent. Each individual detail of a pillar carved in the present day can be recognized as a descendant of the earliest form; there is no break

in the continuity and no intrusion of style'. The author seems to admit Greek and Roman influence in architecture antecedent to this. The author refrains from any criticism from the point of view of art, and confines himself to the consideration of the historic evolutions of motives of ornament. He finds that particular parts of the temple receive special attention during each of the periods: in period (1), it was the rock-cut shrine, in (2), it is the Vimāna of temple, in (3), the Gōpuram, in (4), the Mandapam and in (5), the Corridor. Brick it would appear was not used before the 13th century. No image of Rama, Sita or Hanuman is found in any temple anterior to the 10th century; nor is Krishna with the flute (Vēnugopal), or Krishna with the bathing women (Jalakrīḍa) before that period.

Even from this review it is obvious that the book attempts a systematic scientific survey of the subject and will deserve careful study by any one wishing either to agree with the author or to controvert him. We only wish that the book be made available in English very soon as it seems to us that several of the positions taken by the author will bear further investigation and criticism.

THE FUNDAMENTAL UNITY OF INDIA

BY RADHAKUMUD MUKERJEE, M.A.

(Messrs. Longman's)

THIS little book is an attempt at examining how far India can be regarded as a fundamental unity for purposes of the study of its history and civilization. It is a notorious fact that India is ordinarily regarded as a mere geographical expression, and as such can lay no claim whatsoever to be considered a political unity, at any rate in pre-British days, with any claim to a distinct nationality for its people. Mr. Mukerjee begins with the assumption that the primary factor of nationality is the possession of a common country. He points out that in spite of her vastness and variety there is a geographical unity. He next examines how far this unity finds expression in the historic consciousness of the Hindus. He lays stress on the fact that the Aryan Hindu India was Bhārata-Varṣa, or the land of Bharata. He next examines the Hindu texts beginning with the river-hymn of the Rig-Veda to the various defining expressions which are the necessary preliminary to a religious act up to the present time, and finds in them uniform acknowledgment of her common father-land in the designation Bhārata-Varṣa and Jambu-Dwīpa. Another element of this fundamental unity is traceable in the institution of pilgrimage to holy shrines and to holy waters. This institution did make for a larger acquaintance with and a deeper knowledge of the country as a whole in spite of want of facilities of communication in olden times.

The same unity of feeling finds expression in Buddhist India in the large number of monuments which are found all over the country. That this knowledge of the country and the resulting unity of feeling as a whole finds expression in various literature, in the holy-texts of Buddhism, in the grammatical works of Pāṇini and Kātyāyana, the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya, in the accounts of Greek travellers, in the geography of the Asoka edicts. The geography of Patañjali, no less than that of the Puranas, support this view which finds confirmation in the knowledge implied in the Bṛhat-Samhita of the astronomer Varāhamihira and the classical poets chiefly Kālidāsa. This religious conception of the unity of Bhārata-Varṣa finds complementary expression in politics by the constantly recurring idea of the

establishment of an empire. Mr. Mukerjee proceeds to examine this notion historically, and finds the idea underlying all political thought from Chandragupta Maurya backwards to the Vedic times. The ceremonies specifically fixed for the coronations of the emperors, particularly the details and procedure of the Vājapeya and Rajasūya sacrifices, could indicate nothing else than an attempt to give expression to the idea of a united India. This idea of an all-India overlordship is preserved in the lists of paramount kings in the Brāhmaṇas, in the Mahābhārata, and in the Puranas. Even the Arthaśāstra gives expression to the conception of an all-India overlord followed by a list of kings who realize that ideal. Such a paramount sovereign is called Chaturantōraja and his dominions Chakravarty-Kṣētra. This notion and its realization are preserved to us in the sovereignty under Yudhiṣṭira, and this current Hindu political notion has shaped early Buddhist speculation about the true position and work of Buddha, as the spiritual sovereign, as the supreme ruler over the empire of Righteousness in the hearts of men.

Mr. Mukerjee thus finds that the sovereignty of Chandragupta was no more than a further development of this old institution, as the idea became a common topic for discussion in the Nitiśāstras. The evidence of inscriptions and the colonising movement are, according to him, further expressions of this prevalent notion. As a book which 'attempts to lay the only foundation upon which an Indian historical school can rest' the book deserves to be widely read and carefully pondered over. Messrs Longman's have done their part as well as is usual with them.

We discovered however, two or three slips of proof-reading which are slight; but one false identification we feel bound to point out. On page 29 in the foot-note 1, Śrī Śaila is equated with the Palni Hills in Madura. We are not able to guess what led Mr. Mukerjee to this identification. The first line of the Sanskrit text on page 28 refers to God Śiva in Śrī Śailam whose designation is Mallikārjuna in that shrine. Both the name of the place and of the God refer to Sri Śailam in Kurnool District, a remarkably holy place for the devotees of Śiva, and a place of considerable importance even in Buddhist history as connected with Nāgārjuna and his activities. We hope this correction will be made when a new edition of the book is called for, as we hope it will be ere long.

NOTE ON SACRED PLANTS IN SALEM DISTRICT¹

THE Pipal (*Ficus religiosa*) is worshipped throughout the District, usually in association with the Margosa or Nīm (*Melia azadirachta*.) The Banyan (*Ficus indica*) frequently overshadows the shrines of some of the village deities. The Bilva or Wood apple (*Aegle marmelos*) is the special tree of Śiva, and the Tulasi (*Ocimum sanctum*) is essential in the worship of Viṣṇu. Dharba grass or kuśa (*Poa cynosuroides*) is essential in most of the ceremonies of the higher castes. *Michelia champaca*, *Pandanus odoratissimus* (Screw-pine), and *Mimnsops elengi* are sacred to Viṣṇu; *Nerium odorum* (Alari), *Thvetia neriifolia* and *Phyllanthus emblica* to Śiva. *Bauhinia tomentosa*, *Butea frondosa* and *Prosopis spicigera* are generally held sacred, while every caste worships one or more distinctive trees as the milk-post at marriages. The leaves of the Mango are a favourite prophylactic against the Evil Eye and ill-luck, and on most festive occasions festoons (*tōraṇams*) of these leaves are hung over doorways and pandals, and across the streets, wherever a procession has to pass. Isolated trees readily earn a reputation for being haunted by demons, and the practice of decorating a road-side tree with bits of rag is not uncommon.

F. J. RICHARDS.

¹ Vide 'South Arcot Gazetteer,' p. 102.

EXTRACTS

ARCHÆOLOGY IN MYSORE

THE Archæological research work in Mysore inaugurated many years ago by Mr. Lewis Rice is making satisfactory progress under the superintendship of Mr. R. Narasimhachar, who had the advantage of a training under Mr. Rice and of collaborating with him in the preparation of several volumes of the *Epigraphia Carnatica*. The Report for the last field season is of special interest both in regard to the wealth of information bearing on the growth and development of temple architecture in Mysore from early times, and also the study of inscriptions, stone and copperplate grants. Mr. Narasimhachar has studied some of the most interesting and historic temples in the State on which the rulers of ancient dynasties lavished great wealth in securing the best available architectural and sculptural skill. In every instance his account is illustrated by excellent photographs. The author has also furnished the historic background necessary for the understanding of the circumstances under which these structures were brought into existence. Hoysalas and Cholas and the Chalukya and Ganga, dynasties which held sway in Mysore, each left its mark on the country. Indian temple builders of old utilized these monuments for the perpetuation of their art traditions inherited from time immemorial, and these served purposes similar to those of the modern art schools and galleries, whither the members of the caste guilds pursuing architecture and sculpture as their special vocation resorted for critical study of the works of master builders and sculptors and for comparing notes. These old-world monuments were also utilized for the religious education of the illiterate masses who had to obtain all their knowledge of the Puranic lore through their eyes, from the record in stones which were made on the walls and round the basements of the temples, representing scenes from the Ramayana, the Bhagavatha and the Mahabharata. This object was facilitated by periodical fairs and festivals organised in connection with the temple to which pilgrims flocked in their thousands.

To guard against acts of vandalism on the part of ignorant people, it would seem to be desirable to secure photographs descriptive of the various styles of temple architecture, as illustrated by the most notable representations of them and to exhibit them to school children by means of the magic lantern,

so that at an impressionable period the rising generation may be imbued with a love for their national monuments. The great historian and author of "A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon," Mr. Vincent A. Smith has recorded that Hindu architects of old planned with grandeur and executed with a lavishness of detail which compelled admiration, and that architecture was practised on a magnificent scale in ancient India. Such traditions are an asset of the people, and everything should be done to instil into the rising generation a recognition of the debt they owe to the past by helping them to an appreciation of the æsthetic value of great works of art. This is a work which the Educational Department might usefully undertake.

The section of the Report dealing with epigraphy deals with the new records that have been discovered relating to almost all the ancient dynasties known to Mysore history. The year's discoveries have served, in many instances, to furnish important clues to the elucidation of chronological questions relating to several rulers of those dynasties. Mr. Narashimachar has also checked and revised inscriptions copied in previous years, thus ensuring the accuracy of many records which had not been copied previously with due care and attention. His researches into temple architecture and sculpture are being followed with much interest by scholars in the West, notably his discovery of indigenous school of sculpture of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, which were responsible for several magnificent images and excellent sculpture in Mysore temples. This has furnished material for the comparative study of the works of the sculptors and their special points as a contribution to the re-construction of Hindu iconography. Mr. Narasimhachar's work is being appreciated by all engaged in this interesting branch of study. To enable his work to be carried out satisfactorily, the Mysore authorities should see to it that the historical monuments are not further ruined by destructive vegetation, which is reported to have contributed already to the demolition of several old temples.

COORG INSCRIPTIONS

Though it is several years since Mr. Lewis Rice, C.I.E., retired from the service of the Government of Mysore as Director of Archaeological Researches, he has not ceased to continue his interest in antiquarian research work, notably in regard to the early history of Mysore and Coorg, which he has made his life study. A dozen massive volumes of the *Epigraphia Carnatica*, compiled and issued under his editorship, bear testimony to his zeal for historical studies and to his invaluable contribution to our knowledge of Indian history. At the request of the Government of India, he undertook the revision of epigraphical records collected from Coorg, and has utilized the opportunity to get a re-survey of the tract made for the collection of further records which had escaped the notice of earlier surveyors. The

result has proved of special value to the reconstruction of the history of Coorg from the earliest times; for he has been able to obtain a very large number of old inscriptions newly brought to light, and has issued them in one volume. The later acquisitions have helped Mr. Rice to revise the conclusions based on the earlier researches and to fill up numerous gaps which existed in the history of the Province for want of adequate information and knowledge. The new volume, which is the first of the series which Mr. Rice proposes to issue under the authority of the Government of India, contains a scholarly introduction based on a critical study of the inscriptions besides the text of the inscriptions in the vernacular as well as in the form of transliterations and also English translations. The history of Coorg is traced from the earliest times to which there are references in the epigraphical records, from the time of the Gangas to the time of the Coorg Rajahs, the last of whom was deposed by the British and the Province of Coorg annexed on the 7th May, 1834. The inscriptions cover a period of ten centuries during which Coorg came under the sway of several successive dynasties which carried their conquering activities into the Mysore and Coorg countries from all directions. Mr. Rice has also traced references to Coorg and its peoples in contemporary records of earlier times. Scanty as the materials are that have been brought to light, Mr. Rice with his characteristic historical imagination, has successfully peeped into the forgotten past, and has reconstructed for us vivid pages of Coorg history.

A Ganga record embodied in the volume is of considerable interest as showing the antiquity of the *kadangas*, or trenches, found in a great part of Coorg. These trenches are carried over hills and through woods and comparatively flat country for miles and miles, at some places encircling the hill tops. Some of the trenches are nearly 40 ft. deep, and are often taken along hill sides with an angle of 80 degrees to the horizon. Mr. Rice has no doubt that they were war trenches, and thinks that they may have served for the use of troops. This reference in an ancient historical document is of peculiar interest now when trenches play such important part in the great war now in progress. In several records of the ninth century we have evidence of self-immolation having been resorted to with the object of securing the accomplishment of some cherished desire. For instance, we read of a servant having his head cut off, in order to die with his King; a cowherd vowing to give his head to swing before the image of his god if his King should have a son. The mode of the decapitation is sculptured in stones:—‘The votary was seated with his back to a tall elastic rod fixed in the ground behind. This was forcibly bent down over the head of the victim and made fast by a hook to the top-knot of hair. On being severed from the body, the head flew up, carried with the rebound of the rod released from its tension.’ Chronological tables of dynasties, no doubt of a tentative character, are

drawn up from the materials so far collected, and in the light of the fresh records which recent investigations have yielded, Mr. Rice's volume of 'Mysore and Coorg,' published by Messrs. Constable and Co., is likely to be revised, enlarged and brought up-to-date.

AT A VILLAGE FESTIVAL IN SOUTH INDIA

The village is but a hamlet, a little lazy backwater of the sluggish stream of Indian life, a single street of irregular houses leading off from the main road. Its glory is its old temple dating from the twelfth century, if information be sought at the mouth of reputable history, but, if legend is to be credited, of untold antiquity. At the back of the temple stands a huge mass of rock, itself temple-crowned, probably so honoured for its conspicuousness in the landscape rather than for anything else. Now, thirteen miles away is a great urban population, and all around a country sown with villages, and year by year when the temple festival is held, there flows towards it a trickle of gaily dressed folk along every foot-path and by-road, while a solid main stream flows in from the town.

It is a jolly crowd that streams in. The folk are out for a holiday, the drab of life is for the time decorated and dazzling, and if your mood is banter, or joke, or a good humoured criticism of men and things, here is fuel for your fire. Wonderfully patient and persevering are these people we pass along the road in the cool of the morning. They have been afoot from before dawn; they have plodded along with burden on head or baby at breast; the morning sun finds them still some miles from their place of pilgrimage, but still cheerful and of good courage. Equally patient are those who endure the bullock-cart, patient as the toiling animal itself, for they are crowded and shaken to distraction, yet are not distracted but jolly. Now and again there dashes along from the town a young sprig of modern civilization—young India on his cycle possibly hired for the journey, and the journey itself only permitted because of an earnest and passionate plea that his presence was indispensable at his grandmother's funeral that was to be carried out this day. The funeral, a gay one, is at the village, in the midst of the festival. Here and there press along with pain the old, the lame, the broken; yet they, too, for their own reasons are going to this festival, and one can hardly but wish them fulfilment of their hope.

We see from afar the gaily coloured crowds passing up the steep hill behind the great temple, to go beyond into the jungle where lies a small pool, of the kind technically called *Kalyani*, for steps have been set down to it on all its four sides. It is a pool of distinction, for all the scantiness and dirtiness of its contents. It is called 'the golden-mouthed one' and is famous for its power to wash away the sins of a county-side full of peaceable humanity. Also it is able by its magical virtue to heal sickness, to cast out demons

from those who bathe or are dipped into it, and even to give the blessing of young life to those who have long been childless. These virtues are far cried over this country, and while many of the crowds who come hither come with no particular object, or merely as a matter of routine, numbers come with some purpose connected with one or other of the functions of this golden tank. Even where there is no definite faith, or purpose, there is generally a belief that attention to this ceremonial bathing will count on the right side of lip's ledger, and will issue in general well-being and favour of the god of the temple. As we go along the narrow path through the jungle to the tank, we find numbers who have gathered from afar with still another object. Here waiting for the pity and alms of the faithful are the blind, the lame, shiftless and the shams of the country-side. One old man, in reply to a question, at once said that his faithful dog only had been eyes to his blind feet along fifteen miles of road. One felt more respect than usual for the very obvious 'pi,' as one looked into the gentle intelligent eyes of the animal at his feet. Some of this line of parasites sought to move pity by simulating wounds and mutilations, and the rogues had done it with rare art too. Others had symbols of the deity, for the most part of a terrific nature—evidently as theologians they hold strongly to the old doctrine of hell fire.

We come to the pool to which the parti-coloured thread of moving figures has shown the way from afar. It is odorous, clamorous. The steps are crowded, and the small square of dark water is full of ducking figures as one and another dips again and again, in pursuit of the blessings to be obtained from the bottom of this pool. A few good caste-men now stand together and perform their devotions with dignity and devotion. Here a man brings down for immersion a bonny, golden-skinned morsel of humanity, and it, too, is purged and defended from the evils that threaten it. Here comes a young husband with his girl wife. They have no child as yet in their home, and there seems no prospect of that happiness. They certainly are in earnest; there is no doubt of their anxiety for good and of their faith in the virtues of the pool. They stand with their cloths knotted together, while a priest guides their joint prayers for the desired boon. Probably they are making with their petitions liberal promises, for them, of offerings to be made when their prayers are heard and answered. Some old women stagger at intervals to the pool of blessing. They seek no offspring; peace of spirit—rest from fears, freedom from the torments of devils are more likely what they are now seeking. There are some who are not content with mere bathing; they drink in with the mud and filth from thousands of immersions the virtues of the sacred tank; they gurgle it in their mouths and seem content.

We come to a curious construction on the way back to the temple. It is called the 'fort of the seven circles,' but with all its distinction of name it has none in fact, being only a narrow path between stones and winding seven

times round a rude image in the centre. It is crowded, though, with believers; the same blessings are to be had here as at the pool itself. But the price is strictly net for cash; none of the mercies can be had gratis, and here stands the manager in the centre to take the cash when the perambulators reach the centre of the 'fort.' Close by we caught sight of a woman in an act that was as striking as it was simple and womanly. She had set up four stones in the rude fashion of a shrine, had lit camphor before them, and was standing making obeisance with great reverence. She and her people, albeit they were somewhat shamefaced, did not decline evidence. They told us that she had no child, and this was one form of *pūja* that was believed to be of great efficacy in such cases.

And now back to the temple. Having cleansed oneself from pollution in the pool, one returns to the very presence and image of the *swami* and makes offerings and prostrations to His Holiness. The priest on duty is working hard, saying *mantrams* as fast as ever he can, breaking the cocoanuts that are given to him and waving for them a light before the deity. One can catch a word now and again. It is not elaborate and archaic Sanskrit this but simple statements to the effect that such and such an offering is shown to the great *swami* on behalf of this person; but probably it was life or death in the ears and mind of the simple country folk or the far-journeying townsfolk who heard it as they made their offerings.

Now for the life that now is, having dealt with that which is to come. Beauty that has suffered at the bath can be attended to. Here sits a polite, respectable gentleman, surrounded with powders and scents, helps to feminine beauty. And there is a convenient corner behind which these things can be adjusted, and ladies out in their best can appear their best, with just the right tinge of saffron on their cheeks, and just a wee bit of ink in the right place on their eyebrows. East and West are not far apart after all; they surely meet, the female representatives of the family at least, around just such corners and talk their gossip and adjust their beauty. On the other side provision is made for the gentleman. Gambling tables are a plentiful crop in the Fair, and it was a sad sight to see that several of them were run by members of the domiciled community. They were not ignorant of the vernacular here, as sometimes they themselves suggest. Members of the ruling race! Nay, connivers at the ruling passion of India, gambling. They looked not well, except after their own interests. You need no lure to walk round the Fair, and if you need ornaments, toys, pictures and any other souvenirs of the Fair, they can be had here, and we guarantee they are all cheap. But now the god is coming out of the temple, and he will soon be 'the god in the car' and be drawn in state down the street. He does not like the proximity of leathern boots, so we had better retire, while he goes round in the sun-shine among his folk, for soon he must hark back to his seat in the temple.—*Madras Mail*.

ESSAI SUR GUṆĀDHYA ET LA BRHATKATHĀ

BY PROFESSOR FELIX LACÔTE

(Translated by the Rev. A. M. Tabard, M.A., M.R.A.S.)

PART II

THE DIFFERENT VERSIONS OF THE BRHATKATHĀ

CHAPTER I

THE CASHMERIAN BRHATKATHĀ

I

THE KATHĀSARITSĀGARA

WE cannot tell what the *Brhatkathā* contained except by comparing together the three versions now extant. But even before we do that a preliminary task obtrudes itself upon us. It would, indeed, be a wrong method to compare at once the *Brhatkathā-Ālōkasamgraha*, the *Kathāsaritsāgara* and the *Brhatkathāmanjari*, and to give the same weight to each. The two Cashmerian poems are known to be but copies of a common original; they are so closely connected that, when they agree, both should be counted as only one by the side of the Nepalese *Brhatkathā* and, when they disagree, no other conclusion can be drawn but that one of them does not reproduce faithfully the Cashmerian original. Our first task then will be to make them one again in restoring, as far as possible, that very original. For convenience sake we shall call it Cashmerian *Brhatkathā* without, however, insinuating that that version of the *Brhatkathā*, though found only in Cashmere, has not also been current in other parts of India Proper. It is that restored original which we shall later on compare with the Nepalese *Brhatkathā*. At first sight one might believe that the *Brhatkathā-Ālōkasamgraha* should help us to throw light on the differences which exist between the version of Somadēva and that of Kṣēmendra, and that it would be better to analyse its contents before attempting to restore the Cashmerian *Brhatkathā*. We may, to a great extent dismiss the idea at once, at least as regards the portion we have in our possession. The safest course is to proceed as if the Nepalese *Brhatkathā* did not exist at all.

Yet a great difficulty meets us at the outset. We possess only the beginning of the *Brhatkathā-Ślokaśamgrha*, and, for the greater part of the work, we shall be obliged to depend only on the Cashmerian version as a base for our study. We shall have then to note down carefully, as we advance in our analysis, all the incoherences, the defects in the composition, the real improbabilities, which may betray a composite origin and allow us to separate the elements which can be traced to Guṇāḍhya from those which are probably posterior to him. We must never forget that, through the Cashmerian *Brhatkathā*, it is Guṇāḍhya's *Brhatkathā* which, from the very commencement, we are anxious to lay hold of, as far as possible, in its essentials as well as in its plan.

We shall at first take Somadēva for guide. He has abridged the narrative of the original much less than Kṣēmendra, and enables us better to follow in detail the story of Naravāhanadatta, which forms the framework of the other tales. As we have already seen in the Introduction, it is round that story that the interest centres. It was the intention of the author that it should unfold itself in a logical manner according to a reasonable plan and without any inconsistency. Somadēva alone has devoted to it sufficient space. With Kṣēmendra, who cared more for the ornamental side than for the essential incidents of the story it is too much condensed. Frequently he has reduced to almost nothing the link between the several episodes of that story, because he considered it an unimportant detail or, perhaps, because he wanted, in doing away with it, to hide, to a certain extent, now the weakness and now the incoherence of the composition.

TITLE AND DIVISIONS

It is very probable that the Cashmerian original bore the title of *Brhatkathā* or that, at least, the word *Brhatkathā* was part of the title. Kṣēmendra pretends to give us only what he considers the 'Flowers of the *Brhatkathā*'. Somadēva (K.S.S. 1, 3 and Praçasti 12) seems to tell us that he abridges the *Brhatkathā*. Yet, his book is called *Kathāsaritsāgara*. What shall we infer from it? How can it be explained that he, who prides himself in making it a point to imitate faithfully his model, has given up the title which that very model bore? and, while so doing, he neglects giving us the reason for the change, while he is very careful to explain other modifications introduced by him? That surprises me! Is it not that his model was already called *Kathāsaritsāgara*? That can hardly be, one will say, as the texts already previously alluded to, imply that the title was *Brhatkathā*.

I am willing to concede the point and admit that the model was called *Brhatkathā-saritsāgara*, the word *Kathā* being short for *Brhatkathā*. Was not indeed, the first *Brhatkathā*, the *Kathā par excellence*, the proto-type of the other *Kathās*, the first poem which bore the name of *Kathā*, a name

which was destined to designate a new kind of literary production?—(In another part of this study we shall notice numerous proofs of the fact)—But then the exact meaning of the title adopted by Somadēva is not quite that assigned to it by Bühler, 'A poem which absorbs all the tales as the Ocean all the rivers'. It would mean: '(Bṛhat) Kathā, Ocean formed by the rivers (i.e. of the tales)'. The word *Kathā* is the name of the poem and the word *Saritsāgara* is a word in apposition to it. It is thus we must break up similar titles: Bṛhatkathāmanjari signifies B.K. manjari; Bṛhatkathā Ālokasamgraha: B.K. abridged into epic verses. In English one would unhesitatingly translate: The Kathā, an Ocean of the streams—The B.K. a manjari—The B.K. a Ālokasamgraha.

Let us refer to the text of Somadeva itself:

1, 3 Bṛhatkathāyāḥ sārasya samgraham racayāmy aham

'I compose this summary of the quintessence of the Bṛhatkathā:'

[Praçasti, 12:

Nānakathāmṛtamayasya Bṛhatkathāyāḥ sārasya sajjanam anōmbudhipūrnacandraḥ.

Somēna vipravarabhūriguṇābhīrāma-rāmātmaajāna vihitāḥ khalu samgrahō yam¹.

'Sundry tales—a nectar! are the substance of this collection, quintessence of the Bṛhatkathā; for honest men's hearts it is as the full moon to the Ocean (=it moves it); it is Soma (the Moon) who has composed it, the son of the distinguished Brahman, gifted with numerous virtues, Rama.'

There is not a word in this text which does not contain an allusion or a pun. The author plays upon his own name, *Soma* (-deva) and upon that of his father, *Rama* (-candra probably); one may even see in the epithet *bhūriguṇābhīrāma* which he applies to him, a reminiscence of the name of Guṇāḍhya. Is it not evident that, for the remainder, conformably to the custom of all authors under similar circumstances, he plays upon the words which compose the full title of his poem? I see at first that the title is 'Bṛhatkathā'; *sajjanamanōmbudhipūrnacandraḥ* is a clear allusion to *saritsāgara*; lastly, the persistence with which he uses here and K.S.S., i.3, the words *sāra* and *samgraha* convinces me that those terms were a part of the title, which I consequently restore as follows: *Bṛhatkathāsaritsāgarasāraḥ ālokasamgraha*. The name *Kathāsaritsāgara* is but the usual shortened form of the longer appellation.

These remarks are fruitful; they show that the Cashmerian original had preserved in its title the word *Bṛhatkathā*, but that it had also already added to it the word *Saritsāgara*. Somadēva, who used it to abridge, has

¹ Bühler ueber das Zeitalter des kasmirischen Dichters Somadeva (sit. ber. der phil. hist. Classe der K. A. der W., cx), p. 7 (I quote from a private edition not available for the public.)

added *Sāra*! So, the |very author of the Cashmerian model had not disguised the fact that his book was not the *Bṛhatkathā* of Guṇāḍya; every one knew that it was connected with other collections as well as with Guṇāḍhya's work, the *Bṛhatkathā* having provided the full frame work and the other collections most of the subject matter. It was an 'ocean' to which many 'rivers' had brought their tribute.

Having come to this conclusion, and having restored by the mere study of the texts, the exact title of the Cashmerian compilation and of the poem of Somadēva, imagine my surprise when I found out that the notion of these facts had never been completely lost sight of in India? A modern commentator of *Kavyādarṣa* (ad, i 38), Prēmachandra,¹ who does not acknowledge his sources, but, who according to Indian custom, must have copied from older commentaries writes as follows:—

Pañcāyāṣ capabhramṇarūpatvād apabhramṇakāvyaṃ Bṛhatkathēti jñēyam, yathā Bṛhatkathāsaritsāgarah Bṛhatkathāsaritsāgarasārastu samskr̥tēna tasyānuvādarūpaḥ.

'One must know that there is a poem in common dialect, the *Bṛhatkathā* written in pañcāci, a kind of apabhramṇa. In the same language is the *Bṛhatkathāsaritsāgara*. On the contrary, the *Bṛhatkathāsaritsāgarasāra*, a duplicate of the former, is in Sanskrit.' These remarks of a modern author, taken by themselves, might be but as a personal opinion but when I came across them, after having independently arrived at the same conclusion, they appeared to me equivalent to proof. Finally, the abridged title *Bṛhatkathāsarasamgraha* seems to have always been used together with that of *Kathāsaritsāgara* to designate Somadēva's work. G. Oppert has found in the library of the *Maṭha*, at Sringeri, a *Bṛhatkathāsarasamgraha* (*Lists of Sk. mss. in private libraries of Southern India*, XI, 4579), but he has not gone further into the matter. After careful investigation,² that library was found to contain no manuscript of the *Bṛhatkathā* but only a lithographed copy of the *Kathāsaritsāgara*. We may presume that at the time Oppert visited the *Maṭha* that copy bore the superscription *Bṛhatkathāsarasamgraha*, a fact which led him astray.

The *Kathāsaritsāgara* is divided into eighteen sections, each of which is called a *lambaka*. The same word is also used to designate the eighteen books of the *Bṛhatkathāmanjari*. Later on we shall have to elucidate the meaning of the word.

The eighteen *Lambakas* are subdivided into 124 *taramgas* (waves). The use of that word must be peculiar to Somadēva. It is found again in the

¹ *Kavyādarśa* ed. With Comment, by Prēmachandra Tarkabāgīśa, Calcutta, 1863 (Bibl. Ind.) Bothlingk has rendered homage of exceptional value to this Commentary (Dandin's *Poetik*, p. VI.)

² Through Mr. J. Bloch and Mr. R. Narasimhacharya, M.A., M.R.A.S., Officer in charge of Archaeological Researches in Mysore.

Brhatkathāmanjari, where it designates, the first two portions of the first Book; but it looks as if it had been introduced there by copyists, as the other subdivisions of the Books in Kṣēmendra are called guchhas. *Taramga* has relation only to the title. One must not understand it to mean 'waves of rivers,' which concur to form the ocean; it means the huge waves which cut up the surface of the sea in strips alternately brilliant and dark, more especially when the moon illumines its crest with its white brightness. We read in the Praçasti (v.13): 'May this ocean of the rivers of tales—the Ocean! divided into huge waves by Soma—the Moon!—with spotless brightness, charm the heart of honest men!'¹. The term *taramga* had remained famous in Cashmere as Kalhana later on borrowed it.

As for the idea of dividing each of the Books into several chapters, it does not belong to Somadēva. Kṣēmendra, at times, does the same when the Books are too long. But Somadēva has not respected the subdivisions of the original, as his own do not always coincide with those of Kṣēmendra and the praçasti distinctly attributes to him the division in *taramgas*.

The *taramgas* are merely numbered off without any special name. The *Lambakas*, on the contrary, are designated each by a name according to a list drawn up by Somadēva himself (1,49):

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| 1. Kathāpīṭha | ... Book of Groundwork. |
| 2. Kathāmukha | ... Book of Introduction. |
| 3. Lāvāṇaka | ... Book of the Lāvāṇaka (name of a country on the frontiers of Magadha). |
| 4. Naravāhanadattajanana | Book of the birth of Naravāhanadatta. |
| 5. Caturdārika | ... Book of the four wives (They are probably Candraprabhā and her three sisters, wives of Çaktivēga). |
| 6. Madanamaṇṇuka | ... Book of Madanamaṇṇuka (name of heroine). |
| 7. Ratnaprabhā | ... Book of Ratnaprabhā (name of heroine). |
| 8. Sūryaprabhā | ... Book of Sūryaprabhā (name of one of the Emperors of the Vidyādharas). |
| 9. Alamkāravatī | ... Book of Alamkāravatī (name of heroine). |
| 10. Çaktiyaças | ... Book of Çaktiyaças (name of heroine). |
| 11. Vēlā | ... Book of Vēlā (name of heroine). |
| 12. Çaçāṅkavatī | ... Book of Çaçāṅkavatī (name of heroine). |
| 13. Madirāvatī | ... Book of Madirāvatī (name of heroine). |
| 14. Pañca | ... Book of the Five (five young maids who have vowed to wed Naravāhanadattā all at the same time). |

¹ Pravitatatarangabhaṅgī Kathāsaritsāgaro viracito, yam Somēnāmalarucina hrdayānandāya bhavatu satām. The Bombay edition has *matina* instead of *rucina*. It is a note explicative to explain the term *amalaruci* applied to Somadēva.

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|-------------------|---|
| 15. Mahābhīṣaka | ... Book of the Imperial Anointment. |
| 16. Suratamanjari | ... Book of Suratmanjari (name of heroine). |
| 17. Padmāvati | ... Book of Padmāvati (name of heroine). |
| 18. Viṣamaçīla | ... Book of Viṣamaçīla (Vikramāditya). |

CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE KATHĀSARITSĀGARA

The Kathāsaritsāgara is composed of one story, which acts as a frame work into which are inserted other stories related by the personages of the first: those second stories often contain others, and so on. This style of composition, frequently met with in Indian literature, though not in its oldest period, is known by the name of 'roman à tiroirs', that is, 'a story made up of unconnected stories'; it has one fixed element, the frame work, and elements changing and varied, the accessory tales; on the one hand these are easily interpolated, on the other, they may be different according to the different versions of the same work without the version losing its right to the original title. It goes without saying that it is the frame work, more especially when it is not only a pretext to introduce other tales, but is of itself of great interest, as it is the case with the Kathāsaritsāgara, which has the best chance of being the work of the primitive author. In any case it is that *story frame work* which one must study with greater care in order to criticize the composition of the poem.

We are obliged to analyse the Kathāsaritsāgara rather minutely and in detail. If we only referred the reader to the text, our discussion later on, would not carry conviction so easily. The materials are so varied and luxuriant that one can see their connexion only after a long intimacy. One knows them generally by fragments but it is seldom one can see them as a whole. For that reason our analysis, which will be always critical, will have, I believe, all the attraction of novelty. Those given by Brockhaus consider only each part in itself and have for object rather to make the contents known than to study the connection between the parts and between the characteristics of each. Those of Wilson (*Works, repr., Essays, I, 156-268; II, 109-159*), which have the same object, are more a pretext for noting analogies between the tales of the Kathāsaritsāgara and the Persian and Arabic tales. In this connexion the notes appended to the translation by Mr. Tawney have deprived them of all interest.

1. KATHĀPITHA (tars I-III)

This Book contains only the legend of Guṇādhya and the stories connected with it, which we have already studied. Its name is practically the same as that of *Kathāmukha*, the name of the second Book.

If Guṇādhya's legend has first consisted in a part of the Introduction of the original Brhatkatha, as we have already considered as probable, it has

some right to the title of *Kathāmukha*. But, on the other hand, it had become too evidently something foreign to the poem to give it a name which would imply that it was a part of the work: or the other, when it was added to the *Bṛhatkathā*, the title *Kathāmukha* was already in use and had already been given to the first Book of the collection. It was for that reason that it received a new name meaning also, though not in the same strict sense, 'Introduction'.

2. KATHĀMUKHA (*tars.* IX-XIV)

After having promised the favour of Śiva to any-one who would read his Poem the author, without any other preamble, starts the story of Udayana, King of the Vatsas, at Kauçāmbi.

He was born of the race of the Pāṇḍavas. His grandfather was Çatānīka, his father Sahasrānīka, his mother Mrgāvati, daughter of the king of Ayodhya, Kṛtavarman. Mrgāvati, during her pregnancy, had a great desire to bathe in a bath of blood, but the king has ordered for her a bath of water coloured with red dye. While she is bathing, covered with a red cloth, a huge bird, like Garuḍa coming to snatch away an unfortunate naga, (adorned with the red veil of victims) pounces upon her and carries her off. He leaves her on a mountain far away. A hermit meets her and takes her to the hermitage of Jamadagni. There she is delivered of a son, Udayana. The hermit brings up the child till he reaches his fourteenth year. Vasunēmi, brother of Vāsuki, King of the Nagas, presents him with a wonderful lute. Finally thanks to a bracelet, the romantic story, which reminds one of the most used up contrivances of the stage, Sahasrānīka discovers the retreat of his wife and son, goes to bring them back, gets Udayana crowned and becomes himself a hermit in the Himalayas. All this is briefly narrated and takes up the *tar.* LX (5-90) and the *tar* X (201-217). The story of Udayana's youth is extremely concise (IX, 68-82). It must have existed somewhere else at much greater length, most likely in the *Bṛhatkathā* itself. Besides the art of playing most skilfully on the lute, Udayana had learned from the Nagas the art of charming away the effects of poison as we see in the *Priyadarçikā*; ¹ the commentator even tells us, in this connexion, that he had visited the subterranean world, 'Nagaloka' (cf. B.K.M. 2, II, 56-60; B.K.C.S., V. III sq.)

Udayana gives himself up to pleasures, more particularly to hunting and music. The king of Ujjayini, Candamahāsena would fain have him as his son-in-law. In the hope that his daughter Vāsavadatta may smite him with her charms he sends him a message, 'Come and give my daughter lessons on the lute'. 'Let her come here and learn' answers the displeased Udayana.

¹ At the end of the 4th Act.

He is thinking of declaring war on Candamahāsēna. To prevent him, his minister, Yaugandharāyaṇa, relates to him some facts of the King's history: Candamahāsēna is a terrible man, his sword is the gift of Durga, he has in his possession, the dreaded elephant Naḍagiri, he has kidnapped his wife, Angāravatī, after having murdered her father Angāraka. Besides a daughter, he has two sons, Gopalaka and Palaka (*tar.* XI, 83 V.) The narrative continues in the same lively strain.

Furious, Candamahāsēna makes up his mind to lay hold of Udayana. He causes a wooden elephant to be made, fills it up with soldiers and leaves it in the forests of the Vindhya. Udayana chases it as if it were a real animal, but he is captured by the soldiers, taken to Ujjayinī and put in chains. He is now forced to give lessons to Vāsavadattā. His ministers, Yaugandharāyaṇa and Vasantaka, start to deliver him. After having entered into an alliance with the Puṇindas, who hunt in the forests of the Vindhya, they make their way to the palace of Candamahāsēna, under magical disguise, as singers and dancers. Udayana is chained in the music hall; they make themselves known to him alone (*tar.* XII, 1-77); the remainder of the *tar.*, 78-104 is a digression).

Meanwhile, Vāsavadattā has fallen in love with Udayana. What a splendid revenge it would be to carry her off? With the aid of the two ministers, one night the guardians of the elephants' park are made drunk; the runaways ride the female elephant Bhadrāvatī and make off. Their flight is discovered; Palaka riding the elephant Naḍagri has soon overtaken them, but persuaded by his brother, Gopalaka, who understands better the true interests of the family, he allows them to go. After having ridden, sixty-yojanas Bhadrāvatī falls dead. She was an incarnate vidyādhari who after resuming her first form, foretells success to Udayana. The runaways are now without a mount and in the heart of the forests; they would perish at the hands of freebooters but for the assistance of the faithful Puṇindas. At last, Candamahāsēna calms down and consents to give his daughter to Udayana (*tar.* XIII, 1-53 and 196); the verses 54-195 are a digression. The narrative is always very well knit together.

Udayana and Vāsavadattā at last return to Kauçāmbi. They are followed by Gopalaka who comes to attend the ceremonies of his sister's wedding. When these are over, Gopalaka returns home as he, too, is going to be married (XIV, 1-36; 58-64). The rest of Udayana's adventures are condensed in a few verses. He is very fickle and Vāsavadattā takes exception to his wayward behaviour. He flirts with the servant maid Viracitā and weds secretly Bandhumatī, a princess who was a prisoner and whom Gopalaka had presented to his sister, who was hiding her under the name of Manjulika. Vāsavadattā's jealousy would make her life unendurable without the

sympathetic nun Sāmrtyāyanī. All this is very much condensed here (XIV, 65-75), but must have been very copious before as shows the dramatic literature (Priyadarçika, Ratnāvalī, and also Mājavikāgnimitra though in the latter the heroes bear different names).

The book ends here; it is one of those which contain fewer digressions. Yet we have in it: the story of *Çrīdatta* and of *Mṛgānkavatī* told to Sahasrānika (X, 6-200); that of *The revenge of Lohajangha* told by Vasantaka to Vāsavadattā (XII, 78-194); that of *Devasmitā* told by the same to the same in which are found the stories of the *Cunning Siddhikarī* and that of *Çaktimatī* (XIII, 54-195); that of the young cripple *Bālavinaṣṭaka*, told by the minister Yaugandharāyana to his colleague Rumanvat (XIV, 37-57), and that of *Ruru*, told by Vasantaka to Vāsavadattā (XIV, 76-87).

These stories have hardly any connexion with the rest of the narrative. For instance, that of *Devasmitā* is introduced under the vain pretext to increase the love of Vāsavadattā for her husband. Yet, they make up more than half of the Book (492 verses out of a total of 871). Suppress them or alter them as you like, the real story will not suffer in any way. It would rather gain by it for they seem to crush it out of form. The story of Udayana is evidently shortened to the extreme and that has been done to the advantage of the accessory tales which, unlike the main story, are expanded in all their parts with visible complacency.

Another remark: The title made use of led one to expect an introduction as '*kathāmukha*' means 'prologue'. We see by the *Pañcatantra* (Kosegarten, p. 5) that the word is used to introduce the narrator to the reader. But the *Kathāmukha* of the *Kathāsaritsāgara* does not mention anybody as a narrator—the narration beginning with that very book—and that word introduces absolutely nothing. It is simply the first chapter of Udayana's life which will be continued without a break, in the following Book. My conclusion is that, that title which belonged to Book first of the original *Bṛhatkathā*, has been kept because it was traditional, but that the subject-matter has been completely altered.

3. LAVANAKA (*tars*, XV-XX)

Yaugandharāyana and Rumanvat lament because Udayana, though sprung from the race of the Pāṇḍavas, owns but a very small extent of territory. He spends all his time with women, or in hunting and drinking. What can be done to enlarge his dominions? They are acquainted with the silly tricks of political treatises! They will bring Magadha under the suzerainty of Udayana by arranging a marriage between him and Padmavatī, daughter of Pradyōta, King of Magadha. But will Pradyōta accept as a son-in-law a King who is already married? It would be advisable, says Yaugandharāyana, to hide Vāsavadattā somewhere, set fire to her house and spread the report

of her death. Gopalaka will join in the plot. First of all, they must take the court to the frontier of Magadha, in the Lāvāṇaka. Udayana agrees to go, because he is made to believe that the Lāvāṇaka is full of big game. Just when he was setting out, the hermit Nārada foretells him that a son will be born to him who will one day be the emperor of the Vidyādhara (tar. XV, 1-11; 19-2; 55-62; 80-83; 103-134; 140-149).

Vāsavadattā agrees to be a party to this comedy. Yaugandharāyaṇa, well versed in the magical arts, transforms Vāsavadattā into a Brahmin woman who will be called Avantika, and Vasantaka into an one-eyed Brahmin; the three of them set out for the capital city of Pradyōta. Forthwith, Rumaṇvat sets fire to the house and bewails the death of the Queen. Behold Udayana in tears! In the meantime the three travellers are welcomed by Padmāvatī who takes a fancy to the sham Avantika. On hearing of Vāsavadattā's death, Pradyōta gives to Udayana in marriage his daughter whose hand the ministers had been careful to ask previously for their master. Pressure is brought upon Udayana to make him give his consent. He comes, gets married and brings the whole court to the Lāvāṇaka. There the plot is discovered but Padmāvatī does not bear ill will on that account (tar. XVI, 1-35; 43-123). The narrative is still very concise.

Meanwhile, Pradyōta is furious till a message from Padmāvatī calms him down and then he acknowledges himself a vassal of Udayana. Caṇḍamahāsēna, too, declares himself satisfied and the whole court returns to Kauçāmbi (tar. XVII, 1-3; 31-32; 45-63; 148-174). There are many digressions.

Great rejoicings and distribution of presents take place. A judicial enquiry leads to the discovery of the treasure of the Pāṇḍavas which was watched over by a yakṣa. Udayana having recovered miraculously the throne of his ancestors declares himself ready to conquer the whole world. He will start with the east like the Pāṇḍavas. Everything succeeds. In a dream, Śiva comes again to foretell him that a son of his will be the Emperor of the Vidyādhara. He makes Gopalaka, King of Videha and Simhavarman, brother of Padmāvatī, King of the Cedis, and then sets out on the war-path. Brahmadatta, King of Benares, yields up his country without a blow. Thence, Udayana conquers the east as far as the sea, then the south, marches west and occupies Sindh, defeats the Mlecchas, the Turuṣkas, the Persians and the Hūṇas. The King of Kāmarūpa sends him his submission. At last, Udayana returns in triumph to Kauçāmbi (tars XVIII, 1-68; XIX, 15; 50-118; XX, 1-6; 213-230). Enormous proportion of digressions.

In this Book the number of accessory tales goes on increasing: out of a total of 1198 verses they take up 785. Those of tar., XV, *The hypocritical ascetic* (XV, 12-18) *Unmāḍini* (XV, 30-54), *The two lovers who died because they were kept apart* (XV, 63-79), *Puṇyasēna* (XV, 84-94), enshrined in the discussion between Yaugandharāyaṇa and Rumaṇvat are short and spring up

quite naturally from the narration. The story of *Sunda and Upasunda* (XV, 135-139), narrated by Narada is but an example given incidentally. The *tar*, XVI is almost free from digressions, the story of *Kunti*, XVI, 36-42 being simply a short anecdote, but the *tar*, XVII is almost only made up of digressions; stories of *Urvāṣi* (XVII, 4-30), of *Vihitasēna* (XVII, 33-44) of *Somaprabhā* and of *Ahalya* (XVII, 64-147). The *tar*, XVIII has hardly anything concerning Udayana. It is fully taken up by the long story of *Vidūṣaka at the court of Ādityaasēna, King of Ujjayinī* (XVIII, 69-407). The *tar*, XIX, except for the story of *Dēvadāsa* (XIX, 16-49), is mostly devoted to Udayana but it is the shortest of the Book. Finally, the *tar*, XX is altogether made up of a long tale, brought into it in a most artificial manner. Udayana does not trust his vassal Brahmadatta; to gain his trust, Yaugandharāyaṇa tells him the story of *Phalabhūti*, in which is enshrined that of *Kuvalayāvali*, which contains that of the *Birth of Kārtikēya* and that of *Sundaraka* (XX, 7-228).

This Book is better adapted than the previous ones for the introduction of accessory matter. Udayana's youth, his marriage with Vāsavadattā, were a prolific subject which had to be given a large treatment, though at the same time it had to be condensed as much as possible. The third Book, on the contrary, hardly contains anything else but the story of Padmavati's marriage. The story is old and famous (cf. what is known of the Svapnavāsavadattā (*conflagration*) and of Ratnāvali) but on the whole it is simpler. It was easier to condense it in order to make room for other tales.

As for the brief account of Udayana's conquest, I have my own suspicions that its brevity is not at all in proportion with the importance of such adventures in Udayana's career. It occupies only the end of *tar*, XIX. However inclined to shorten the story we may suppose the author to be, we can find no reason why he should have shortened to that extent a matter which ought to have been more copious.

If we except what concerns Brahmadatta, he gives no particulars of the conquered countries nor of the heroic deeds of the conqueror. They are sung in a few vague verses, of common place oratory. But look at the strange enemies he is made to fight with! Let alone the Mlecchas; the name is old and somewhat vague, though I have an idea that, here as with Tāranatha, it means the Muhammadans! But what of the others? How could a king belonging to legendary times be made to fight the Persians (the word *Pārsika* is rather modern), the Turushkas, and more especially, the Hūnas who do not make their appearance before the second half of the fifth century. Had Guṇādhyā attributed to Udayana victories over invaders he would have made him conquer the Yavanas and the Çakas! Surely we have here a fraud. It is certainly a Cashmerian who writes and, almost as certainly, he is a contemporary of *Somadēva*! He has in mind conquests belonging to more modern times, those on the Western and North-Western Frontiers of India.

The places supposed to have been conquered by Udayana constitute a *pradakṣiṇa*. He goes round India, always keeping Central India on his right. His campaign is arranged like a pilgrimage. At the end of his *Pradakṣiṇa*, Udayana goes up to Alaka the city of Kuvēra. How does he manage it? When mortals visit the Gods, on sacred mountains, they are taken up there on aerial chariots. (It is a thing so well known that it would be a waste of time to give instances.) Here there is nothing of the kind, though I notice that the tales of *tar*, XX have a great deal to do with the spells necessary to enable one to fly through the air. Why are those tales located in this part of the Book? Would it be that an ancient tradition associated with the account of Udayana's campaign some story of aerial navigation? The visit to Kuvēra seems to point that way. If so, the supposed successful campaign might well have been, in the original *Bṛhatkathā*, but a fantastic aerial pilgrimage which has been mixed up with a similar episode mentioned in the following Book. That looks to me, more probable as we do not hear anything more of those conquests. Better still, when Udayana leaves this world (*tar*, CXI) and bequeathes his possessions to Gopalaka, he has nothing else to leave him but Kauṣāmbi. In his turn Gopalaka, makes over the throne to his brother Palaka already King of Ujjayini; so the kingdom is always strictly limited to the country of the Vatsas and there is no question of suzerainty over other lands (CXI, 74, 92).

4. NARAVĀHANADATTAJANANA (*tars*, XXI-XXIII)

Udayana gives himself up to pleasure. Nārada reveals to him that Vāsavadattā is an incarnation of a particle of Gauri and that to her will be born a son who will be an incarnation of Kāma. Yet, Vāsavadattā sees no hope of becoming a mother. A Brahmin woman, Pingalika, deserted by her husband, comes to her and begs shelter for herself and her two children. Vāsavadattā envies her happiness in being a mother. Having related her adventures, which have only a distant connexion with the privilege of maternity, she helps her to find Çāntikara and gives a dowry to her children. On some other occasion she is envious of a potter's wife, because she has got five children. Udayana prescribes observances in honour of Śiva.¹ The royal couple have a dream, fantastic though common place (*tar*, XXI, 1-53; 108-148).

This Book is really one of dreams. During her pregnancy, Vāsavadattā dreams only of Vidyādharas and Vidyādhiraś. She wants to journey through the air, like them. Yaugandharāyaṇa indulges her fancy by inventing several aerial machines. Thanks also to a dream she causes justice to be done by the king against a woman who was accusing her husband falsely. She is at last

¹ On the improbability of this detail v. *infra* Part III, Chapter II.

delivered of a son. A voice from heaven calls him Naravāhanadatta, the future Emperor of the Vidyādhara. At the same time, were born the sons of the ministers, Marubhūti of Yaugandharāyaṇa, Hariṇikha of Rumaṇvat, Tapantaka of Vasantaka, Gomukha of Nityōdita or Ityaka (*tar*, XXII, 1-15; 258-259; XXIII, 1-30; 52-94).

There are very few digressions in this Book. The story of *Devadatta* told by Pingalika is relatively short and so is that of *Simhaparākrama* (XXIII, 31-51). On the other hand, (XXII, 16-257), it contains the fine story of *Jīmūtavāhana*, son of *Jīmūtakētu* who was descended from the Avadānas. That story has been made use of by Harṣa in the *Nāgānanda* and was universally popular in Buddhist countries. But there is no reason whatever why it should be here rather than in any of the other Books. The accessory tales take up 311 verses out of 501.

5. CATUMDARIKĀ (*tars*, XXIV-XXVI a total of 820 v.)

This Book is entirely outside or, if you like, beside the subject. It is devoted to the story of *Çaktivēga*, Prince of the Vidyādhara. The story is artlessly introduced. *Çaktivēga*, thanks to his science of magic, knows that Naravāhanadatta is to be his future Emperor. He comes to see him (*tar*, XXIV, 1-18; XXVI, 286-289). At Udayana's request he consents to narrate his own story which might be entitled 'How to become a Vidyādhara'. In his own case the essential condition was to reach the country of the Vidyādhara, to come to the golden city and to wed Candraprabhā and her three sisters, daughters of a king of the Vidyādhara: Fortune favours him and a bird which carries him on its back, is the means to do it (XXVI, beginning). It looks as if that tale ought to give us a foretaste of Naravāhanadatta's adventures. Those of *Çaktivēga* have characteristics both fantastic and popular. As a youthful Brahmin he has ranged the world in search of the miraculous city and he has experienced extraordinary vicissitudes. We shall meet again in the Nepalese *Bṛhatkathā* with those gigantic birds who carry adventurous travellers to the land of gold. It is a common theme for popular stories (True History of Lucien; the Arabian Nights) the bird is the *Rokh* of the Arabian tales (*Merveilles de l'Inde VIII*). There is no reason *a priori* either to suspect the origin of this story, or to admit, without restriction, that it was a part of the original *Bṛhatkathā*. What is certain, is that it may, at the same time, have borrowed some features from the story of Naravāhanadatta and lent others to it. Whatever it may be, its place in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* is altogether arbitrary. It is one of those floating matters which may be inserted anywhere. It forms a whole with a unity of its own, and consequently can easily be removed.

Like the other Books, this one contains accessory tales which have no special reason to be there: that of *Śiva and Mādhava* (XXIV, 82-199), and

that of *Harasvāmim* (XXV, 20-227); two of which find a place there because of the analogy of the subject, that of *Açōkadatta* and of *Vijayadatta* (XXV, 74-294) and that of *Devadatta* (XXVI, 195-225). Their heroes are personages who, like Çaktivega, have attained to the dignity of Vidyādhara.

6. MADANAMANOUKA (*tars*, XXVII-XXXIV)

Thus far our remarks on the defects of composition and the lack of proportion between the several parts have only been incidental. The Books II to IV form an uninterrupted series. No doubt, wherever there has been a loose joint, a tale has been inserted, the presence of which is often without justification, but, on the whole, those three Books possess a unity which cannot be contested. They give us in a strict chronological order the series of Udayana's adventures from the time of his birth to that of his son's. The only criticism we would offer upon the plan followed by the author would be this: As the subject matter is to be the story of Naravāhandatta it would have been better to introduce the future Vidyādhara after his birth; then, before narrating his adventures, to explain what we have to know about his ancestors. The fact is not of great consequence, the only thing is that it concentrates our attention on Udayana alone and makes us forget too long that he is not the real hero of the Poem. This fault, if fault there be, is more against good taste than against logic.

The place where we find the Fifth Book is more open to criticism. The author has not been careful enough to prevent us from forgetting his heroes. But what is for us an object of greater surprise is the beginning of Book VI.

Between this Book and the preceding ones there is no connexion whatever. The Book is not a continuation but a real beginning. After the customary propitiatory verses, Somadēva adds: 'Listen now to the tale of the celestial adventures which follows; Naravāhanadatta himself who after his accession to the throne of the Vidyādhara, speaking of himself in the third person has narrated it from his own lips going over it again from the commencement, at the request made to him by the Mahārṣis and their wives on such and such occasion.'¹

So far it was the author who was speaking in his own name and we were surprised at the fact. We were asking for a narrator, Behold here he is! It is not strange that Naravāhandatta should narrate himself his own story, but the mention of the fact in this particular place is rather peculiar. As it was not he who spoke before, how is it that the author says that he goes over again from the commencement? As a matter of fact, it is not true: Naravāhandatta is going to take up the story from the very point where the author

¹ Ityādīdivyācaritam kṛtvātmanam kilānyavat, prāptavidyādharaicvāryo yad ā mūlāt svayam jagauh, Naravāhanadatto'tra sapatnikair mahārṣibhiḥ, prstaḥ prasange kutrāpi tad idam cṛutādhuna (K.S.S., XXVII, 3-4).

has left it. Are we to understand that in the Kathāsaritsāgara, the story is not put on the lips of Naravāhanadatta though it is surmised that it was known through his confidential talk with the riṣis? That would at least indicate that in some anterior version he was really the narrator. This would go to prove that on this point the Cashmerian version differs from the Bṛhatkathā and that the author is aware of it. The crucial point is: why has he not warned us before and why does he do it just at this particular moment? We would not have suspected anything as Naravāhanadatta speaks of himself in the third person. A well-established tradition had always put in Naravāhanadatta's mouth the recital of his own adventures! This peculiarity does not agree at all with the plan of the Cashmerian Bṛhatkathā but traces of it remains in it all the same. Perhaps it was so well known that one could not refrain from mentioning it. If it is mentioned where we find it, that is at the beginning of Naravāhanadatta's story, it must be that the latter more than Udayana's, was the real subject matter of the Bṛhatkathā. This is really the commencement of the whole work.

Let us go further: If the Bṛhatkathā, in one of its first chapters, placed Naravāhanadatta among the riṣis and made him narrate his own adventures the occasions on which he was asked questions ought to have been mentioned. This point is left here purposely in the vague. Nevertheless we are able to make it clear, thanks to the Kathāsaritsāgara, where this very detail is expressly mentioned (*Lambh*, 16, *tars*, CXI and CXII)! Naravāhanadatta having heard of his father's death, has repaired with all his Court of Vidyā-dharas to the Black Mountains, to Kaṣyapa's hermitage, where lives, among the riṣis, his uncle, Pālaka. There he spends the rainy season. There it is that he is asked questions by the riṣis and that he answers them. In Book XVI, where we are told of Naravāhanadatta's visit to Kaṣyapa and where are mentioned the questions of the riṣis it is evident that it cannot be he who speaks, yet if we believe the beginning of Book VI it is always he. The incoherence is evident but evident also is the means to remedy it. Book XVI contains matters pertaining to the beginning of the original Bṛhatkathā. They were placed before that part of that work where Naravāhanadatta commences to talk. It is at least in parts an introductory Book. The plan has been greatly altered but, it is not Somadēva who is to blame; he has preserved an incontrovertible trace of his model's incoherence.

Now let us analyse Book VI.

Naravāhanadatta spends his youth with the sons of his father's minister, making himself proficient in all sciences and playing in the gardens. He becomes remarkable for his handsome appearance and his virtues (*tar*, XXVII, 5-9). We have here five verses bearing on the infancy of Naravāhanadatta, but they are altogether common place and that is all! When we meet him again, six chapters further on, he has become adolescent. It is

difficult to admit that the author should have nothing to tell us about the childhood of the future king of the Genii.

What has he then to tell us in this Book? With the tenth verse (*tar*, XXVII), without any preamble, he begins 'At this point of the story, listen to what happened. There was a city, Takṣaṣila, on the banks of the Vitasta.' And he starts the long story of the *Buddhist King, Kalingadatta and of his daughter Kalingasena*. Later on we shall see Kalingasena in communication with Udayana but for the time being we are a long way from it. Kalingadatta is a perfect nonentity, a greater one we could not imagine; nothing ever happens to him except to convert by childish means the young merchant Ratnadatta. There is nothing to say about him except that he is the most pious of Buddhist Kings, that he has a wife called Tārādattā and that the name of his daughter is Kalingasena. For the rest he is there only to tell or listen to stories. First it is that of *Dharmadatta and his wife Nāgaṇṇī* (XXVII, 79-106) told by Tārādattā. Her husband retorts with that of the *Seven Brahmins who ate a cow* (XXVII, 107-122); that of the *Two ascetics, a Brahmin and ṇḍāla* (XXVII, 123-132); that of *King Vikramasimha and the two Brahmins* (XXVII, 133-207); he then listens from the lips of a monk, who wishes to cheer him up in case a daughter should be born to him, to the story of the *Seven pious princesses* (XXVIII, 13-42), which includes that of the *Prince who plucked out one of his eyes*, in which again is included that of the *Ascetic who won a victory over anger*; at last he is told by a Brahmin the story of *Sulōcana and of Suṣēna* (XXVIII, 71-95). The whole is very edifying! Thereafter no further mention will be made of good King Kalingadatta, except incidentally and yet all this has taken up (*tar*, XXVII, 10-211 and *tar*, XXVIII, 1-99).

These cycles of pious stories bear decidedly a Buddhist stamp. The story of the *Seven pious princesses* is nothing else but the *Saptakumārī-kāvadāna* (Burnouf, *Intr.*, p. 556). The Kalinga is famous in the history of Buddhism; in its capital, Dantāpura, was kept one of the four canine teeth of Buddha, the same, it is said, which is shown to-day in Ceylon, the history of which is told in the Pāli chronicle, *Dāṭṭhadhātuvamśa*. The king of the Kalinga and his sons occupy a large place in the Pāli Jātaka. If we admit that this cycle betrays an intention to edify, altogether foreign, in a general way, to the tales of the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, it will be clear that it was introduced bodily in this compilation while keeping its original characteristics, but that originally it could not have been a part of the romance of Udayana and Kalingasena.

The whole interest is then transferred to Kalingasena. This daughter of a pious king is the object of sad though gallant adventures in which she will appear more as a victim than as a guilty party. A sin of her former life weighs heavily on her future; she is the incarnation of the apsaras Surabhī-

dattā cursed by Indra because, one day, when her duties called her to the presence of the gods, she forgot herself so far as to hold a flirting interview with a Vidyādhara. Those antecedents gain for her the friendship of the wife of Kuvera's son, Nalākūbara, who happens to be the apsaras Sōmaprabhā and who comes down from heaven to keep her company; but, at the same time, she brings to her a regrettable propensity to allow herself to be seduced. Sōmaprabhā who owes to her father, the asura Maya, the knowledge of magical engines takes her to his palace, where she receives the privilege of never becoming old, and ends by turning her head in praising up to her King Udayana as the only man worthy of her (*tars*, XXVIII, 100-102; 154-155; 185-193; XXIX, 1-68; 197-199). Accessory tales: the *Prince and the young merchant who saves his life* (XXVIII, 113-153); the *Brahmin and the Piṣāca* (XXVIII, 156-184); *Kīrtisēna and his wicked mother-in-law* (XXIX, 69-196).

Whilst Kalingasena is loved by the Vidyādhara, Madanavega, and sought after by King Prasenajit, to whom her parents would marry her, she dreams only of Udayana. The too obliging Sōmaprabhā carries her to Kauçāmbi. She lets the King know that she has come to wed him; on being told so the fickle King falls madly in love. The Queens are indignant but pretend to be indifferent. It is the minister, Yaugandharāyaṇa, who takes upon himself to prevent the marriage. Why? Is it because an alliance with Kalingadatta seems to him to be degrading? No, indeed, but he fears that Udayana, taken up with his new love, might neglect state business: a surprising scruple in a man who has engineered the marriages with Vāsa-vadattā and with Padmāvatī! At his instigation the astrologers compel Udayana to wait for six months. The honest Yaugandharāyaṇa is confident that, in the meantime, he will cause the king to change his mind or he will at least involve Kalingasena in some adventures which will make her unworthy of him. For this purpose he has an interview with the Brahmarākṣasa, Yogēçvara. Meanwhile the Vidyādhara, Madanavega, assumes the form of Udayana, introduces himself to Kalingasena and weds her after the fashion of the Gandharvas. He has been seen by Yogēçvara who tells Yaugandharāyaṇa about him. Yaugandharāyaṇa, to convince Udayana of Kalingasena's unworthiness, contrives that he should see himself the two lovers together. Udayana makes a scene. An explanation is forthcoming, but after that scandal the marriage is practically impossible. Kalingasena herself is wise enough to decline Udayana's proposal and she resigns herself to be only the wife of the Vidyādhara which is equivalent to not being married at all as, according to the law of the Vidyādharas, he must leave her because she is pregnant. She will live by herself at Kauçāmbi. A daughter is born to her, Madanamañoukā. Udayana, under Śiva's influence, declares that she will be Naravāhanadatta's wife, in spite of her mother's adventures

and the queen's opposition. In this connexion, we are told that Madanamāṇcukā is an incarnation of Rati as Naravāhanadatta of Kāma or more exactly that the child Madanamāṇcuka was in reality a son but, by Śiva's order, Prajāpati carried him away at the time of his birth to replace him, without any one noticing it, by the incarnation of Rati. The young prince is already in love with her, after having seen her only once and though she was still in her nurse's arms. All this, intercepted by numerous digressions, has filled up the *tars*, XXX, 1-71; 142-144; XXXI, 1-10; 33-96; XXXII, 1-41; 90-97; 191-196; XXXIII, 1-24; 75-105; 159-217; XXXV, 1-9; 21-66; 90-103. The accessory tales, if we except the story of *Indradatta* (XXXIV, 10-20), a mere instance put in its proper place, are long and but loosely connected with the subject matter: stories of *Tejasvaṇī* (XXX, 72-141) in which are included those of the *Brahmin Hariṣarman*; of *Uṣā and Aniruddha* (XXXI, 11-32); of *Viṣṇudatta and his seven companions* (XXXII, 42-89); of *Kadalīgarbha* (XXXII, 98-190), which includes that of the *King and the Barber's wife*; of *Ḡṛutasena* (XXXIII, 25-74, in which are included that of the *Three Brothers* and that of *Devasena and Unmādinī*, of the *Ichneumon, the owl, the cat and the mouse* (XXXIII, 106-130); of *King Prasenaḡit recovering the treasure stolen from a Brahmin* (XXXIII, 132-158); of the *Yakṣa Virūpākṣa* (XXXIV, 67-89).

To be better understood we have been obliged to divide our analysis in the middle of *tar*, XXXIV. The second part is full of useful details. All that goes before, from verse 9 of *tar*, XXVII, is only an explanation of 'what happened at this point of the story' (cf. *supra*). Here (XXXIV, 104) begins again the story of Naravāhanadatta. But as much as the author has spread out the story of Kalingasena so much does he condense now. In 161 verses, with, it is true, hardly any digressions, he dismisses the account of the whole of Naravāhanadatta's life, from the day he has seen Madanamāṇcuka in her cradle to the time of his marriage, say, about ten or twelve years. When Book VII opens with the *tar*, XXXV, Naravāhanadatta will have grown into a man. Yet, how many events could have been mentioned with more details! Naravāhanadatta grows up; he is crowned heir to the throne and the ministers' sons are given appointments under him. Heavenly voices appoint Gomukha as his inseparable companion. Sōmaprabhā comes down from heaven to explain to Kalingasena that she is really an *apsaras* and to design for Madanamāṇcuka a marvellous garden, where the court festivals would be held. The next day, a visit is made to a temple. Richly decked women present themselves. They are all the Sciences come to enter into Naravāhanadatta's body. He thus becomes the best lute player and the most skilful man in all the arts. He lives in the beautiful garden where Kalingasena herself brings him Madanamāṇcuka. He teaches her music and dancing. One day he goes to the wood of Nāgavana. I note this detail

though it looks as if of no value here. This short journey is not marked by any adventure except for Gomukha with whom a merchant's wife falls in love and who would have been poisoned by her, furious as having been spurned, if, thanks to his shrewdness, he had not been able to find her out. Thereupon, Naravāhanadatta and his friends hold a conversation on political science in which they delineate the characteristics of a good king. Meanwhile, Madanamañcuka has seen coming down from heaven a Vidyādhara who has asked her for her hand; according to Yaugandharāyaṇa it is a sign that the Vidyādharas mean no good for their future emperor. Kalingasena urges the early celebration of the marriage. What can be more natural? Yet Udayana declines on account of the bad name of Kalingasena; he is for a clandestine marriage according to the fashion of the Gandharvas. Śiva's intervention is necessary to decide him to allow an official celebration (*tar*, XXXIV, 104-265). Digression: *Ṣaṭrughna* (XXXIV, 181-187).

This lengthy Book, which contains 1518 verses, is devoid of unity. We see by its title and by the way it ends that its principal subject is the first love and first marriage of Naravāhanadatta; but the length allowed to this episode is not at all in proportion with its fame. Nothing in the Kathāsaritsāgara can justify it. The narrative is uninteresting and is restricted to the essential facts; Madanamañcuka is but a child without personality or life; Naravāhanadatta is the most commonplace of lovers. Where then is that famous passion held out by Dhanika as the type of eternal love? Truly, we must conclude that the Kathāsaritsāgara or its model has kept only the skeleton; the flesh and the blood have disappeared. This is indeed condensing too much to limit oneself almost only to reproduce the heading of chapters. For instance, what else is that journey to the wood of Nāgavana which is mentioned with no apparent utility? It looks as if we had there only the residue of a story, perhaps of a whole chapter. In the whole second part of the Book the author is content with giving us a summary. He crowds in several subjects which, when given in detail, must have been spread out under different headings: childhood of Naravāhanadatta, his studies and games, his coronation, his conversations with his friends, more especially with Gomukha. I can hardly believe that the Brhatkathā should have contained nothing about the youth of this most artful companion who will always get himself and his master out of difficulties. He is the most original and life-like personage in the poem.

What has been kept of all this is now condensed at the end of Book V and mixed up with the story of Madanamañcuka's marriage. Room, it seems, had to be made for Kalingasena's story which is far from being condensed like the rest but is spread out to an enormous extent and looks longer still by the large number of digressions.

It contains more than one improbability. What is the use of Kalingadatta,

an unnatural father who does not intervene in his daughter's adventures? When Vāsavadattā was carried off, when Padmāvatī was imposed upon, their fathers were greatly affected. In the case of Kalingasena, on the contrary, no paternal authority hinders her pranks. When she had lost her good name and had to give up Udayana, there is no question of her going back to her home and if Udayana had not offered her a shelter at Kauçāmbi she would have had to go to strangers. She does not seem to have a father at this critical moment. As for Sōmaprabhā, were it not necessary for some one to introduce Udayana to Kalingasena and bring her from Takṣaṣila to Kauçāmbi, that fantastic personage might easily be dispensed with. As soon as the introduction bears its fruit, she vanishes to reappear only in an incidental way in the guise of architect of the marvellous garden. Where the improbabilities are more striking is in the story of the abortive marriage of the King and Kalingasena, and in that of their children's marriage. The reason which made Yaugandharāyaṇa an enemy of Kalingasena is childish: later on Udayana's behaviour is incoherent. After having himself wished for his son's marriage, bethrothed him with solemn functions, and allowed the children to be brought up together, we are told that he is afraid of public opinion, hesitates to fulfil his promise and tries to degrade Madanamañcuka to the rank of a concubine, at least in the world's eye. If true, all that would show great contempt for the granddaughter of King Kalingadatta, the daughter of the Vidyādhara Madanavega, the favourite of the apsaras, the incarnation of Rati! and what are we to say of the behaviour of the two young people on this occasion? It is a mystery! The very subject matter of the story looks as if it had been amputated and falsified.

Some one might perhaps say that in all those criticisms we have been looking at the Kathāsaritsāgara with a magnifying glass and applied to the author a standard of criticism which can be applied only to western classics. My answer is that Indian literature has never despised order and logic, except on the surface, in those long compositions which owe their present incoherence to numberless interpolations. In all the works which have come down to us intact (I allude more specially to dramas and mahākāvyas) we meet with an anxious desire to narrate things in such a way as to make them appear real; though I admit that the flights of imagination are, at times, apt to stagger our narrow taste. This desire does not strike us in the subjects themselves which are too foreign to our western ideas, but it is most noticeable in the development of the narrative and of the facts, in the wonderfully skilful art of preparation of which the stage supplies us with many instances. We must suppose in Guṇādhyā's work qualities of composition and of logic, without which no work of art can exist. Unless we have proofs to the contrary, we must suppose that where there is incoherence his work has been altered.

7. RATNAPRABHA (*tars*, XXXV-XLIII)

One day Nāravāhanadatta is informed by his minister, Tapantaka, that a young maiden, descended from heaven, is now in the garden under an Aṣoka. He goes to see her. She is the daughter of a King of the Vidyādhara, Hēmaprabha, who resides on the Himavat, in the golden city of Kāncanaṇḍa. The gods had foretold that she would wed Nāravāhanadatta. Through curiosity she has come down to the earth. Hēmaprabha himself, accompanied by his son, Vajraprabha, arrives in a magic chariot, asks Nāravāhanadatta to wed his daughter, takes him with all his court to Kāncanaṇḍa and after the nuptial festivities sends him back to the earth with his wife (*tar*, XXXV, 1-31; 49-53; 92-164). Accessory tales: *Satvaṣṭi* and the two treasures (XXXV, 32-48); *Vikramatunga* (XXXV, 54-91).

The *tars*, XXXVI to XLI include only stories told on several occasions by Ratnaprabhā and Nāravāhanadatta's young friends. Only one is interesting: Gomuka cracks jokes with Marubhūti who is drunk. Marubhūti replies by easy puns on his friend's name; the whole story is very life-like—stories of *King Ratnādhipati* and the white Elephant *Ḡṣṭaraṇḍi* (XXXVI, 8-132) including that of *Yavanasena*; of *Niṣṭayadatta* (XXXVII, 3-243) in which are included the stories of *Somasvāmin* and of *Bhavaṇḍarman*; of *King Vikramāditya* and the Courtesan (XXXVIII, 31-60), in which is included that of *Vikramāditya* and the deceitful Beggar; of *Ḡṇḍabhūja* and the daughter of a *rākṣasa* (XXXIX, 3-245); of *Tapodatta* (XL, 13-23); of *Virūḍḍarman* (XL, 26-31); of *King Vilāsaṣṭi* and his physician, *Tarūṇa-candra* (XL, 42-114); of *King Cīrāyus* and his minister *Nāḡārjuna* (XLI, 9-60).

There is no connexion between this first half of Book VII and Book VI. Nobody is surprised at a Vidyādhari coming down from heaven to wed Nāravāhanadatta; nothing seems more natural than his journey to Kāncanaṇḍa. Yet, so far, his adventures had taken place on the earth. As for Madanamaṇḍuka she is no longer mentioned, except once, and that even in an incidental way (XXXV, 164). We are not told how she likes the second marriage; we see Nāravāhanadatta listening to stories with his friends and his wife but that wife is Ratnaprabhā. The solution of continuity between Books VI and VII is absolutely complete.

With *tar* XLII, we have really the beginning of a new Book. Nāravāhanadatta is hunting in the woods alone with Gomuka. He meets the wife of an ascetic and enters into conversation with her. She mentions accidentally a certain Karpūrika, daughter of Karpūraka, King of Karpurasambhava, ('The country which produces camphor') beyond the sea: she must necessarily fall in love if she saw him. Followed by the

faithful Gomuka, who is not too willing, he sets out in search of the country of camphor; meanwhile his father and his friends would be alarmed at his disappearance, if Ratnaprabhā, thanks to her science of magic, did not guess what has happened. The journey is not accomplished without difficulties; they sleep in the open air, a lion devours their horses and the two companions continue their journey on foot, like ordinary pilgrims. To shorten the journey, Gomuka narrates some tales (*Story of King Parityāgasena, his wicked wife and his two sons*, XLII, 53-222). After many days they reach the seashore and enter a town, all the inhabitants of which are wooden automata. Alone king Rājyadhara is alive; he narrates his own story. He is a carpenter from Kānci who has been obliged, to become an exile, because with the help of his brother, Prāpadhara, he was stealing the jewels of King Bāhubala, not indeed with his own hands but by means of automata swans which were able to introduce themselves into the treasure chamber. Having come to this place he has taken possession of this deserted city which he has peopled with creatures of his magical art. He knows how to build flying machines; he presents Naravāhanadatta with one, and with it Naravāhandatta is able to reach Karpūrasambhava. An old dame explains to him that Karpūrika hates men. In her former existence, which by special privilege she is able to remember, she was a swan, but she committed suicide heart-broken at having a heartless husband. How could one find his way to her and win her affections? The artful Gomuka is not at a loss for so little. By his advice Naravāhanadatta stirs up the passers by his eccentricities; he, too, pretends to remember his former existence. He is no one else but a new incarnation of the cruel husband who, anxious to make up for the past, is coming amidst numberless dangers to meet again his beloved. Karpūrika allowing herself to be moved, she marries him, and follows him to Kauçāmbi, in a huge flying chariot, built by Prāpadhara, brother of Rājyadhara, who has been found again by a happy accident. The skilful carpenter enters the Prince's service; hereafter he will provide him with flying machines in conformity to his position as a future Emperor of the Vidyāharas (*tars*, XLII, 1-52; 223-225; XLIII, 1-67; 120-225). Digressions, besides the story told by Gomukha (cf. *supra*), the tale of *Arthalobha and of his wife* (XLIII, 68-119).

Book VII, as we see, though bearing only the name of Ratnaprabhā, places in a juxtaposition the matter of two different Books, which have no logical connexion. The reason of the juxtaposition is not clear. The marriage with Ratnaprabhā is of a common place type, which we shall meet again several times (*Alamkāravatī*, 9; *Çaktyaças*, 10; *Ajināvatī*, 14). On the contrary, the search after Karpūrikā involves Naravāhanadatta in journeys and explorations, to wonderful countries, unknown to men, even across the sea, on foot, under the garb of a mendicant ascetic, exposed to thousands of adventures, in which the fanciful is mixed with some realistic

details. It is the type of tale already seen in the story of Çaktivēga. Perhaps every thing is not poetical fiction in what we might call Naravāhanadatta's odyssey; it has undoubtedly a foundation, as, in the Arabian Nights, as in the Poems of Homer, the accounts of caravans and of sea voyages, the narrations of their travels given by monks, vagrant ascetics, deformed into popular tales by imagination enamoured of every thing that is fanciful.

8. SURYAPRABHA (*tars*, XLIV-L)

This Book placed here, without any reason whatever, reminds us of the fifth. It is the lengthy story of Sūryaprabha, Emperor of the Vidyādhara. It is introduced by a small preamble. A king of the Vidyādhara, Vajraprabha (who is not a brother of Ratnaprabhā, though bearing the same name) descends from Heaven to see Naravāhanadatta. How can one become Emperor of the Vidyādhara? asks the latter (*tar*, XLIV, 1-15).

This extremely long story (1555 v.) which is a kind of replica of that of Naravāhanadatta himself, forms a whole perfectly independent and which can be easily taken out of the Bṛhatkathā. Some might say that there is an indication that it was a part of it: One of its personages, Dāmōdara, must have been mentioned by name in the Bṛhatkathā Pañcāci: his name is given by Hēmacandra as an instance of the Pañcāci 't' in relation to the Sanskrit 'd' (cf. *supra*). This argument would carry weight only if we were sure that the other instances of the Pañcāci have been borrowed by Hēmacandra from the Bṛhatkathā of Guṇādhya and not from the Cashmerian Kathāsaritsāgara. It is a question which we shall discuss later on. Whatever may be the origin of Sūryaprabhā's story, whether it is an original invention of Guṇādhya or the development of pre-existent legends, or a subsequent handling of a fragment of the Bṛhatkathā, it is remarkable by an altogether extraordinary revelry in the use of the fantastic. There is a great deal of it already in the story of Naravāhanadatta though not much more than in the average Buddhist and even Brahminical literature, but in the story of Sūryaprabhā it is a real debauch.

The gods have foretold Sūryaprabhā, son of Candraprabha, king of Çākala that he would reign over the Vidyādhara. The asura Maya comes to teach him all the magical sciences even that of travelling through the air. He avails himself of it to visit the world. As he is handsome and an artist, painter, and musician, every woman who sees him falls in love with him. He carries off nine daughters of kings and among them, Vindyunmālā daughter of the king of China and who was 'Yellow like gold'. The kings, when they become aware of his worth, forgive him all those rapes. The first war he is engaged in is against the army of Dāmōdara, son of a king of

the Vidyādhara. He defeats him in a single fight and spares him only on account of Viṣṇu's intervention. From that time forward, his fortune knows no limit. The only thing that remains is to defeat Ṣrutaçarman, Emperor of the northern part of the Vidyādhara country and a favourite of Indra. Maya reveals that Candraprabha and his son are incarnations of the *dānavas* Sunīta and Sumundīka and invites them to go down to the *Rasātala*, one of the seven subterranean worlds where they will find again the body of Dānava, which has the privilege of never becoming old. They descend into it through a pit which opens in the waters at the meeting place of the Candrabhāgā and the Airāvati. Meanwhile, Ṣrutaçarman carries off the nine wives of Sūryaprabha who had remained on the earth. Sūryaprabha, having become again Sumundīka, marries nine daughters of the kings of the *Dāityas* and the *Dānavas* and twelve daughters of *apsaras*, not indeed without adventures, which yet are monotonous and common place. Having returned to the earth he flies to the Sumēru, to the rīṣi Kaçyapa, to visit the goddesses Diti and Danu, and their husband Prajāpati. All his ministers and friends are found to be incarnations of *Asuras*, *Dānavas*, and *Dāityas*. Aditi comes to see him as does also Indra who, is at the head of the *Lōkapālas*, and who fears that Sūryaprabha may start again as of old, the contests between himself and the *Asuras*. Indra very humbly implores Kaçyapa. There is a compromise: Ṣrutaçarman, protected by Indra, will rule over the northern part but under the suzerainty of Sūryaprabha who will be Cakravartin (*tars* XII, XIV). There is no digression, except the story of *Kāla* (XIV, 89-112).

Now, Sūryaprabha makes up his mind to avenge himself on Ṣrutaçarman who has carried away his wives. They have never been really in his power and now they are in the fourth subterranean world where Maya takes Sūryaprabha in search of them. There he forms new alliances, with the *Dāityas* and the *Dānavas* and wins new wives. His wives become all pregnant; it is the *Asuras*, destroyed before in the struggle against the gods, who become reincarnated in their children. The campaign begins against Ṣrutaçarman. Sūryaprabha's army, increased by the contingents brought by his allies of the subterranean worlds, is gathered near that of King Sumēru who makes common cause with him. Several prodigies forebode victory. When all the kings of the Vidyādhara are offering sacrifices, on the southern table-land of the Himalayas, it is Sūryaprabha's fire which is the first to light up. Brahmagupta, Brahma's son, is indignant. A serpent springs from Sūryaprabha's fire and with the violent breath, which it emits from its mouth, he puts to flight Brahmagupta and all the hostile kings; none of them is able to catch it but, as soon as Sūryaprabhā touches it, it becomes a quiver in his hands. The bow and the string are two other serpents fallen from a cloud which has sprung up from the lake Mānasa. It is this lake which supplies the gods with arms; it is enough to throw into it bamboos of

the neighbouring wood, guarded, very badly this time, by the terrible magician Candradatta; they are transformed into serpents, and the serpents into bows and strings. Soon all the allies of Sūryaprabha are provided with those divine arms. The only thing lacking now is to acquire the summum of magical science: that is the art to cause one's enemies to become demented and to paralyse them. The sage, Yājñavalkya, bestows that privilege on him but after an awful experience. Again a dream forebodes success. To Ārtaçarman, in his golden city of Trikūṭapataka, an ambassador is sent with an overbearing message which causes a war. But before the fight, Sūryaprabha must possess himself of magical herbs, which heal wounds and restore life, and which are kept in a cave on mount Candrapāda; Yakṣas and Guhyakas do their utmost to stop him on the way, but he paralyzes them; the Gaṇas, the cave keepers, bow to the conqueror after he has invoked Śiva by his 8,000 names, but the minister Prabhāsa is alone allowed to enter and to take away the herbs for the use of his master. The reason is that Prabhāsa, in his former existence, was the *dānava* Namūci and the *asura* Prabala, who after having repeatedly defeated Indra, gave his body to the Gods to offer as a sacrifice. In the subterranean world Prabhāsa recovers his twelve wives, his jewels, and arms and his horses. The strength of Sūryaprabha's army is increased by so much (*tar*, XVI).

The hostile armies are in the presence of each other and they are really huge armies. They are fully enumerated. All the Gods are present at the battle. Indra remarks that it is the old struggle between the gods and the asuras which begins afresh: on Sūryaprabha's side there are only men and asuras, on Ārtaçarman's, only Vidyādharas, who have all in their body a parcel of some God's body. The first day Ārtaçarman gets the better of it; the second, it is Sūryaprabha, and disaffection takes place in his enemy's camp. On the third day, the two rivals engage in a single fight; as Ārtaçarman is beginning to give in, Indra and the others *lokapālas*, in great fear, come to the rescue: the only way out of the difficulty is for Śiva to render ineffective the blows of their arms. The Gods, then implore Śiva. By his order the struggle ceases: Sūryaprabha will be Emperor and will give up to Ārtaçarman the northern portion; the dead are brought back to life; the asuras and the gods, who have been foes so long, are reconciled, in a common obedience to Śiva. The height of good fortune is reserved to Sūryaprabha; when he marries Kāmācūḍamaṇi, daughter of Sumēru, not only do all the gods attend the wedding but Śiva himself, whom he had invited and seen personally, comes with Durgā to preside at the coronation ceremonies on mount Rṣabha (*tars*, XLVII-L).

I have thought it necessary to analyse this Epopee, wonderful though full of confusion, which, so far, does not seem to me to have been noticed enough, except recently by Mr. Speyer. In its general plan, it reminds one of the

story of Naravāhanadatta's love—marriage at first, then war like exploits—but it differs a great deal from it in its composition and in its design. This fantastic story, built up by an unbridled imagination, forms a singular amalgamation of old mythological data of Buddhist elements and of popular beliefs. The whole, blended with a conciliatory Śaivism, contrasts by its *grande allure* with the rest of the Kathāsaritsāgara which, it is true, is very often lyric but, at the same time, even gay and familiar. The lengthy account of the fight, especially, is full of variety, of passion and epic spirit, which makes the greatest impression. If we have to attribute to Guṇāḍhya the honour of having written this Book, we must acknowledge that he had several varieties of style at his disposal.

The adventures of Sūryaprabha are so well knit together that we find only one digression in *tars*, XLVI-L: the story of *King Mahāsena and his virtuous minister, Guṇaḍharman* (XLIX, 4-251) which includes that of *Āditya-ḥarmanā father of Guṇaḍharman*.

9. ALAMKARAVATĪ (*tars*, LI-LVI)

This Book is one of the most disappointing, as far as composition goes, of the Kathāsaritsāgara. It is made up of two parts (LI-LII and LIII-LVI) and in each we find episodes which have no connexion with the rest.

One day, in the forest, Naravāhanadatta sees a temple of Śiva. He goes in, and finds a young maiden playing on the harp. Who is she? A Vidyādhari comes down from heaven expressly to tell him. She is Alamkāravatī, daughter of a king of the Vidyādharas, Alamkāraṣṭra, who has become a hermit. According to his instructions, her mother has taken the maiden to the earth to a place pointed out to her, in order that she might wed Naravāhanadatta. The marriage is settled for the next day and takes place amidst a large concourse of Vidyādharas. On the invitation of Kāncanaprabhā, mother of the new bride, Naravāhanadatta sets out to visit her native place, Sundarapura, and then returns to Kauṣāmbi. Here ends the episode which has given its name to the Book (*tars*, LI, 1-58; 114-115; 200-227; LII, 1-29). Digressions: *Rama and Sita* (LI, 59-113) the *Handsome Pṛthvīrūpa* (LI, 116-119).

We have now an incident of very little interest, placed here without any apparent reason: the adventure of *Açokamālā and her husband, Haṭhaḥarman*, who both narrate their story in a former existence (*tar*, LII, 30-90). This is only in order to bring in the pretty tale of *Anangarati and her four suitors* which includes the story of the same *Anangarati* when she was a *vidyādhari* which takes up all the remainder of *tar*, LII (91-409). *Tar*, 53 is altogether taken up by two other tales: that of *King Lakṣadatta and his servant*

Labdhadatta (LII, 9-74) and that of *Vīravara* (LIII, 86-193) which is also found in the *Vēṭalapāṇṇavimṇatikā*.

With *tar*, LIV begins the second part of Book IX. *Naravāhanadatta*, always hunting, meets four personages credited with magical powers, called *Rūpasiddhi*, *Pramāṇasiddhi*, *Jñānasiddhi* and *Devasiddhi* and who by the favour of Viṣṇu rule over the mountains of the Island of *Nārikela*, the mounts, *Mainaka*, *Vṛṣabha*, *Cakra* and *Balāhaka*. They have plucked the golden lotus and they are on their way to take it to their God who resides in the 'White Isle' (*Çvētadvīpa*). They invite *Naravāhanadatta* to join them. He consents; the journey is made through the air. The God, under a human form, is just in the act of receiving the homage of *Nārada* and of the *Gandharvas* who sing hymns in his honour. The four deified men, followed by *Kaṣyapa*, etc., sing in their turn, and *Naravāhanadatta* sings last. The God is so pleased with his praise that he sends for four *Apsaras*, whom he had before entrusted to the guardianship of *Indra*, *Devarūpā*, *Devarati*, *Devamālā*, and *Devapriyā*, and gives them to him as wives. *Indra's* charioteer *Mātali*, takes him in his chariot with his new brides and his four new friends and conveys them to the Island of *Nārikela*. After four days spent in various entertainments, on the four mountains, *Mātali* brings him back to *Kauṣāmbi* with the *Apsaras* (*tar*, LIV, 1-82).

That is all, and we shall have now nothing but disconnected tales. A common place incident brings in the story of the *Merchant Samudraçūra* (LIV, 98-135), another one that of *Camaraḥāla* (LIV, 145-239) which includes that of *Yaçovarman*, another that of *Ciradāta* (LV, 13-24) then that of *King Kanakavarṣa* and of *Māḍanasundarī* (LV, 26-238).

At last, comes, without the author taking the trouble to explain why he puts it here, unless it be *Naravāhanadatta's* desire to listen to stories, that of the *Brahmin Candrasvāmin*, his son *Mahīpāla*, and of his daughter, *Candrāvati* (LVI, 3-4231, a tale a tiroirs which contains the stories of *Cakra*, of the *Hermit and his faithful wife*, of *Dharmavyādha* the honest meat seller, of *King Tribhuvana*, of *Nala and Damayanti*. In this Book, made up of two episodes, which could be placed anywhere and the presence of which has had only the advantage of preventing us from forgetting *Naravāhanadatta*, the tales submerge the original subject matter. The first part of the latter is without any interest: *Alamkāravatī* is a copy of *Ratnaprabhā* (cf. Book VII). The similarity extends itself even to the details of the journey to the city of the *Vidyādhara*s. The second part, on the contrary, the visit to Viṣṇu, is very remarkable and gives rise to an important problem.

It reminds us of an episode of the *Mahābhārata*, the journey of the brothers *Ēkata*, *Dvīta*, *Trīta* and that of *Nārada* to the same 'White Island' (XII, CCCXXXVII, 21 sq and CCCXXXIX-CCCL); but the account of the *Mahābhārata* is meant to edify us whereas there is nothing of the sort in the

Kathāsaritsāgara. The ṛiṣis Ekata, Dvita, and Tṛta have practised austerities with the object of being favoured with the vision of Nārāyaṇa under his proper form. The God is seated in the 'White Island' situated in the north of Mount Meru, on the shore of the Milky Ocean. The inhabitants of that country are white like rays of the Moon. They believe in Nārāyaṇa, whom they adore as the only God. The ṛiṣis see them gathered together for worship, praying in silence, all equally happy, all equals. A light appears, which seems to concentrate in itself the rays of a thousand suns. The faithful face that light, join their hands in the attitude of adoration and exclaim full of joy; 'We adore Thee'. They then sing a chorus. The ṛiṣis understand that these men are offering a sacrifice to the Supreme God. They hear salutations to the God, Creator of the world, First Born of the universe. They have no doubt but that the God himself has appeared to his adorers, but *they* have not got the true faith and so they have seen and felt nothing. The God is hidden for all those who do not believe in Him. The ṛiṣi Nārada makes the attempt; he stays on in the White Island becomes absorbed in meditation, remains motionless in the attitude of adoration, and from his lips comes forth a most wonderful hymn in which the Lord is praised, in terms which no one has ever heard. The God reveals himself to Nārada.

It is clear that here the author wishes to impress the reader with the importance of faith (*bhakti*). Weber was right in pointing out in this passage an allusion to Christian worship. Mr. Grierson sees in it the description, which religiously minded Hindus might give of the magnificent religious ceremonies of one of the Christian communities of the east. 'We have here, he says, perfect equality, the proclamation of monotheism, the necessity of purity of heart to see God, the grand church into which God, visible only to the eyes of faith, descends in person, the adoration of the First Born, the silent prayers and the bursting out of the *Gloria in Excelsis*, chanted in a loud voice, the melodious singing of the Eucharistic liturgy' all that must have made them think that here existed perfect faith.¹

The 'White Island'—the word island of course must not be taken literally—is not at all, if we except the mention made of the Milky sea, a mythical country. The Mahābhārata, in placing it north of the Meru, deserves attention as it is corroborated by the Kathāsaritsāgara. It is difficult not to admit the island of Nārikela, 'The Island of Coconut Trees' with its four peaks and four kings to be Ceylon.² But the 'White Isle' is in an altogether opposite direction, as our four personages reach it only after a long journey which makes them pass near Kauçāmbi; besides, it is near the Meru, the abode of Indra as Nārāyaṇa has, so to say, within reach and quite handy, the four

¹ Grierson, *Modern Hinduism and its debt to the Nestorians* (R.A.S., 1907), p. 7 sq.

² Cf. K.S.S., trad. Tawney, 1, 525n.

apsaras whom he offers to Naravāhanadatta. Without attempting to localize with precision the 'White Island' in Turkestan on Lake Issikkul, as does Mr. Kennedy,¹ I do not think one can deny the reality of the place mentioned here, nor the probability that the faithful, as they are described in this episode are those of the Christian communities established in Bactria, as we know from other sources, and in a flourishing state from the third century of our era. Yet, all that part of the Mahābhārata, with its theory of faith, is marked by characteristics so clearly modern that it is difficult to place it earlier than the sixth century. On the other hand, the episode of the Kathāsaritsāgara agrees so well, in some details, with that of the Mahābhārata, to allow us to admit of a dual origin. What strikes me most particularly is the identity of the geographical localization, the presence of Nārada who sings a hymn to the God, and finally the fact that Naravāhanadatta, who like Nārada, wins the God's favour, thanks to this unheard of hymn in which he is praised under names hitherto unknown. In Somadēva's work, the hymn is short and common place, but in Kṣēmēndra's, who here at least, seems to have better taken into account the intention of the original, the hymn is a real Litany of Nārāyaṇa (*nārāyaṇastuti*) in prose, with forcible expressions ornamented with every possible word of praise which the desire to praise his God in unknown terms may inspire a devoted adorer. Either this episode of the Kathāsaritsāgara is borrowed from the Mahābhārata, and then we cannot be surprised that it has been shorn of its edifying characteristics, but in that case it could not have been a part of the original Bṛhatkathā; or the Mahābhārata has borrowed it from the Bṛhatkathā and has developed it so as to make it an ornament for its doctrine of *bhakti*; or both the Mahābhārata and the Bṛhatkathā have made use, each with a different object, of the same narrative based on accounts of travellers who had visited the first Christian communities in Bacteria, but in this case those accounts had already been flavoured with fanciful fables as shows that part played by a well-known hero of the Brahmanical Legends, Nārada. It is enough to state the case here; we shall be able to make a choice between the several hypotheses only when we are able to come to a general conclusion with regard to the Bṛhatkathā.

10. CARTIYAQAS (*tar*, LVII-LXVI)

The division between Books IX and X is purely artificial. In *tars*, LVII and LVIII, as well as in the preceding ones, we have only tales foreign to the subject matter, always brought in by the same contrivance: some trivial incident in the life of Naravāhanadatta. We have in succession the story of the *Inexhaustible pitcher* (LVII, 23-48) and that of the *Young merchant*, of the

¹ In Grierson, *l. c.*, p. 81 *sq.*

courtesan and the monkey Ala (VII, 54-176); of *King Vikramasimha, the Courtesan and the young Brahmin* (LVIII, 2-54), of *the Unfaithful wife who burns herself on the funeral pyre of her husband*, (LVII, 68-78), of *the Unfaithful wife who murders her husband*, of *Vajrsāra, whose wife cuts off his nose and ears* (LVIII, 79-107), of *King Simhabala and of his fickle wife* (LVIII, 108-140), stories all having for object to show the treacherous nature of women.

The *tar*, LIX begins with the episode which gives its name to the Book; it is very short and of a type we have already seen. A band of Vidyādhari come, down from heaven, among whom Çaktiyaças, daughter of King Sphaṭikayaças who lives at Kāncanaçṛṅga, the country, as we have already seen, of Ratnaprabha. She has come to see Naravāhanadatta whom the gods have allotted to her as her husband; the wedding is fixed for the same day, the following month, and it takes place as arranged (*tars*, LIX, 1-20; LXVI, 188-193).

The only reason for this delay is to allow the presence of a deluge of tales, destined, we are told, to help the hero to have patience. It is at first the tales of *King Sumanas, of Young Muktālātā and the learned parrot* (LIX, 22-178); in it the said Parrot recounts his own-story, which includes that of *Somaprabhā*, that of *Manōrathaprabhā and of Makarandikā, with the revelation of the identity of the parrot in a previous existence* (cf. the *Kādambarī* of Bāṇa). Then, after the short story of *Çūravarman who spares his guilty wife* (LX, 2-10), begins the *Pancatantra*. It takes up the *tar*, LX, 11 sq. and the following *tars*. up to *tars*, LXV, inclusive, being mixed up with tales, the origin of which is generally based on the *Avadānas* and which are grouped principally at the beginning and at the end of *tar*, LXI and at the end of *tar*, LXII; *tars*, LXIII-LXV draw from more varied sources. I do not see any utility in mentioning, by name, all those tales, though I may discuss some of them as I may find it necessary as we go on in our study. The short *tar*, LXVI contains tales which are more original: the *Beggar who went from Cashmere to Pāṭaliputra* (LXVI, 5-75), which includes that of *the Wife of King Simhākṣa and of the wives of his courtiers*; the *Wife with eleven husbands* (LXVI, 77-97); the *Man who had always a bull* (LXVI, 99-109); the *Rogue who became rich in giving money to the king* (LXVI, 110-134); *Lakṣmīsena* (LXVI, 135-187).

11. VĒLĀ (*tars*, LXVII)

Naravāhanadatta consents, on the invitation of a certain Ruciradeva, to go to Vaiçākha in order to decide a dispute about the speed of an elephant and of two horses. He falls in love with Jayēndrasenā, sister of Ruciradeva. She is given to him as well as the two wonderful animals and he goes back to Kauçāmbi (*tar*, LXVII, 1-35; 112-115).

The rest of the Book (LXVII, 36-111) is filled up by the story of the *Merchant and his wife Vēlā*. It is surprising that the Book should be so common place and so short (115 verses in all). There was no reason to put it in this place. Why it is so empty, whilst the one that precedes and the one that follows it, are so full of matter?

12. CAÇĀNKAVATĪ (tar, LXVIII-CIII)

This Book is the longest of the Kathāsaritsāgara (4,930 verses) but the only episode which really belongs to the subject matter occupies a very small place. One night, Naravāhanadatta is carried away during his sleep. He wakes up upon the top of a mountain, alone with a young woman. Anxious to know who she is, he skilfully tells her the story of the *Jackal which was changed into an elephant* (LXVIII, 16-30). In her turn she narrates the story of *A Vāmadatta who becomes a Vidyādhara* and who is no one else but her own father. Her name is Lalitalocanā and, by means of her magical powers, she has carried Naravāhanadatta to the top of Mount Malaya, in order to marry him. She keeps him near her on the Mount and there is no question of going back to Kauṣāmbi (where nobody is anxious about his disappearance for his adventure is known there, thanks to the science of Ratnaprabhā) but Naravāhanadatta becomes impatient. One day when Lalitalocana has gone to gather flowers and that he is waiting for her on the shore of a lake, sighing because he is kept away from his darling Madanamancukā, arrives a hermit, Piṅgajajāta, who exhorts him to be patient and takes him to his hermitage, offering to tell him the story of *Mṛgānkadatta* (tars, LXVIII, 1-15, 31-73; LXIX, 1-15). When the story is finished, Naravāhanadatta starts in search of Lalitalocana on the mountain but she has disappeared (tar. CIII, 242-245).

Thirty-five tars are required for that story though it is not very intricate but it is used as a frame work for numerous other tales. Mṛgānkadatta is the son of Amaradatta, King of Ayodhya. Dreams have foretold that he would wed Caçānkavai, daughter of his enemy Karmasena, King of Ujjayanī, but not without numberless difficulties. Meanwhile, his father's prime minister accuses him of having caused the king to be sick by his spells and he is banished with his five councillors. He sets out with them for Ujjayanī, in the garb of a poor man and on foot. On the roads and in the forests, they meet with several adventures some of which are fantastic and some might be real. The most important incident is the curse of a wicked nāga who, for a time separates Mṛgānkadatta from his friends; this is a splendid pretext for each of them to recount his own adventures when once they meet again. During that time Mṛgānkadatta has formed an alliance with the savages who inhabit the forests of the Vindhya. He appears before Ujjayanī with a large army and fights a great battle. But Caçānkavai herself, on the report of one of her maids, had fallen in love with Mṛgānkadatta and allows

herself to be carried off by him. The whole adventure ends with a magnificent wedding and a general reconciliation (LXIX-CIII).

As we have already remarked in connexion with other accessory tales it is possible that this one included features borrowed from Naravāhanadatta's history. It is very strange that, in all the odyssey of Mṛgāṅkadatta, we find very little that is really fantastic; most of the tales, which are inserted in it, have also a peculiar folkloric feature which almost always sounds realistic. It is for that reason, very likely, that in this has been inserted the *Vētālapancavimcatikā* of which the tone and popular origin well agree with the general character of the other tales. It takes up the *tars*, LXXVI-XCIX, and is placed on the lips of the minister, Vikramakesarin narrating what he has heard when he was separated from his master. The other tales are those of *Bhadrabāhu and his shrewd minister* (LXIX, 47-74); of *Puṣkarākṣa and of Vinayavatī* (LXIX, 77-184); of *Kamalākara and of Hamsāvalī* (LXXI, 67-261), of *King Amitamati who becomes a saint* (LXXII, 23-398), a tale which is very edifying and contains those of the *Holy wild boar*, of *Devabhūti*, of the *Generous Induprabha*, of the *Parrot who learned virtue from the king of parrots*, of the *Patient hermit Ābhanaya*, of the *Persevering young Brahmin*, of *Malayamālin*, of the *Robber who gets the best of Yama's registrar*; that of *Āṇḍarāṇa* (LXXIII, 21-436) which includes those of *Saudāminī*, of *Bhūnandana*; that of *Bhīmabhāta* (LXXIV, 24-313), which is like an episode of Mṛgāṅkadatta's history, and which contains that of *Akṣakṣapaṇaka*, at last that of *Sundarasena and of Mandāravatī*, told by the hermit Kapva (CI, 41-384).

There was no serious reason why the preceding Books should be where they are, but there is one why this one should not be where it is, at least as far as Naravāhanadatta's adventures are concerned. Naravāhanadatta is disconsolate because his darling Madanamañcukā is so far away (*dūrasthām* LXIX, 8), but how often has he been farther away from her without being heart broken on that account. Besides, why should he sigh after her alone when he has so many other wives as dear to him? The words used by the hermit, *Piṅgajata* (CIII, 243), to console him gives us an explanation: they imply that Madanamañcukā has been taken away from Naravāhanadatta and that he must win her back: 'In the same way as Mṛgāṅkadatta won Cañkavatī, thou also shalt win Madanamañcukā'. Naravāhanadatta is separated from his first wife not only because Lalitalocana has carried him to Mount Malaya but also because Madanamañcukā has been carried away herself and is no longer at Kauṣāmbi. Let us anticipate on the following Books: We shall see that Madanamañcukā has been carried off by the Vidyādhara, Mānasavēga, and hidden by him in a city of the Vidyādharas, Āśādhupura: Book XIV will start with this rape. All the trials of Naravāhanadatta, before he recovers Madanamañcukā, will lead to more than one

amorous adventure. If so, would it not be natural to think that the episode of Lalitalocana should have been placed in that period of his life ?

13. MADIRĀVATĪ (*tar*, CIV)

Naravāhanadatta is roaming round Mount Malaya and then sets out aimlessly till, in the end, he reaches a place not far from the Ganges. He meets with two Brahmins who tell him their story. Both have been separated from their beloved ones by obstacles which looked insurmountable, both have at last won through, in spite of the law which seemed to rule their destiny (*karman*), by means of their steadiness of purpose (*puruṣakāra*). Naravāhanadatta joins those two Brahmins for luck and just at the proper moment arrive Gomukha and his friends who were in search of him. All return to Kauçāmbi with Lalitalocana who had been found again, no one knows how.

Here the incoherence is manifest. It is not on account of Lalitalocana that Naravāhanadatta is heart broken but of Madanamancukā. 'Then consumed with sorrow at being separated from Madanamancukā he was wandering in the forests of Malaya' (CIV, 4). He tells the Brahmins: 'I am not the god Kāma, but a mortal being, nevertheless I have lost my Rati!' (CIV, 14). There is no longer any question of Lalitalocana, although she too is lost. We are only told at the end that she also returns with the others to Kauçāmbi, but how and where has she rejoined them? Mystery!

14. PANCA (*tars*, CV-CVIII)

One day Madanamancukā vanishes. One of her maids expresses the supposition that she has been carried off by the Vidyādhara Mānasavēga who had formerly asked her hand in marriage. Rumaṇvat rather thinks she had hidden herself because her love had been wounded; Naravāhanadatta is reluctant to admit the fact. A search is made everywhere. Meanwhile the Vidyādhari Vēgavatī has taken the form of Madanamancukā and is now in the garden under an Ācoka. She is discovered. Naravāhanadatta is the first to mistake her for Madanamancukā. Under a frivolous pretext she asks that the wedding ceremonies should be gone through again and so it is done. That night, after having drunk alcohol copiously, the young woman goes to sleep but not without having made her husband promise not to look at her during her sleep (it is well known that in that state magical powers disappear). Curiosity is stronger than his oaths and Naravāhanadatta looks at her, Lo! it is not Madanamancukā! Vēgavatī, reveals her identity: daughter of a king of the Vidyādharas, Vēgavat, who had become a hermit and sister of Mānasavēga, she has had to suffer a great deal on account of her brother's hatred; but for her father's help she would not know anything of the 'Vidyādharas' sciences' which Mānasavēga had refused to reveal to her; but

thanks to Vēgavat, she has become the most skilful of magicians. She explains that Madanamañcukā, kidnapped by Mānasavēga, is locked up in a fortress on Mount Āṣāḍha, where she has to repulse the attempts of her ravisher to seduce her. Fortunately, an awful curse prevents Mānasavēga to do her violence. Vēgavatī carries Naravāhanadatta through the air and takes him to Āṣāḍhapura (the anxieties of the family about the issue of this adventure are set at rest by the saint Nārada). Meanwhile, Mānasavēga attacks them during their aerial journey; a terrible struggle ensues in which the brother and the sister put forth all the resources of magic. Vēgavatī, to ensure Naravāhanadatta's safety, has deposited him in a strange hiding place, a well, dug out in the city of the Gandharvas (*tar*, CV, 1-22; 31-91).

The Gandharva, Vīṇadatta, gets sight of him in the well, pulls him up and treats him with honour; all the inhabitants of the city have lute in their hands. Why? Gandharvadattā, daughter of Sāgaradatta, king of the Gandharvas, herself a skilful musician, is to wed the man who, with a lute accompaniment, will sing as well as herself a certain hymn to Viṣṇu. Naravāhanadattā is given a lute, wins the musical tournament and weds Gandharvadattā. He stays on in the city of the Gandharvas as if he had forgotten everything else (*tar*, CVI, 1-32).

One day, as he was taking a walk in the garden, he sees coming down from heaven, Dhanavatī, wife of Simha, a king of the Vidyādhara, with her daughter Ajināvatī. The gods have foretold that she would become his wife. Danavatī, under the pretext that the city of the Gandharvas is of easy access for the Vidyādhara who intend murdering their future master, carries him through the air and leaves him in a garden, at Āṣāḍhastī, promising to come back for him on a day which would be auspicious for the marriage, but King Prasenajit, discovering him, takes him to his palace and makes him marry his own daughter Bhagīrathayaças (*tar*, CVI, 33-49).

But he cannot console himself for being away from his country, his other wives and his dear friend Gomukha. One night, that care was keeping him awake, he hears a woman's voice moaning. He looks through the window outside; a woman is lamenting the fate of poor Madanamañcukā, to whom he is proving himself faithless. He goes out. She takes him into the open country and explains to him that she is Prabhāvatī, daughter of the Vidyādhara, Pingalagāndhāra. Having gone to visit her friend, Vēgavatī, she has seen Madanamañcukā and has promised to bring back word of whatever is going on. Naravāhanadatta is quite willing to go with her. During the journey, aerial of course, she contrives that they should make a pradakṣina round a fire and behold they are married! Yet they will live like husband and wife only later on in order not to break Madanamañcukā's heart. At last, Naravāhanadatta reaches Āṣāḍhapura and is reunited to his first wife; to conceal his identity Prabhāvatī has given him her own form (*tar*, CVI, 50-121).

Madanamañcukā gives him an account of her captivity. Mānasavēga has not been able to take an unfair advantage of her as an ancient curse threatened him with death if he committed that crime. But she insists on his being punished. Thereupon, Prabhāvatī, having had to resume her own form, Naravāhanadatta appears in the eyes of all as he really is; great scandal! Mānasavēga wants to kill him, but is prevented by his mother who proposes that the case be taken before the supreme court of the Vidyādhara. The court sides with Naravāhanadatta, but Mānasavēga refuses to accept the verdict and starts fighting with the President of the court, Vāyupatha, and Naravāhanadatta would find himself in great danger but for Prabhāvatī who, by means of her magical powers, causes a fictitious apparition of Śiva who makes every one go home. Prabhāvatī takes Naravāhanadatta to Mount Rṣyamūka, but Mānasavēga keeps Madanamañcukā by force (*tar*, CVI, 121-186).

Prabhāvatī and Naravāhanadatta live peacefully on the mount where the Vidyādhara have no power as it belongs to the *Siddhas*. They feed upon fruits and roots, like Rama and Sita during their exile. Now arrive Dhanavatī and Ajināvatī with the object of solemnizing the marriage as previously arranged. Dhanavatī urges the prince to return to Kauṣāmbi. The Vidyādhara carry him there, and there also Vāgavatī joins him. There are great festivities in honour of the adventurer's return. Then we see coming down from heaven, Gandharvadatta with her father, and all the Vidyādhara, whose daughters Naravāhanadatta has married, with their friends and their allies. All together devise a plan of campaign to conquer the empire. The country of the Vidyādhara is divided into two parts; one, this side, and one, that side, of the Kailāsa. In the latter, rules Mandaradeva and in the former his friend, Gaurimuṇḍa, both Naravāhanadatta's enemies. Before entering upon the campaign, Naravāhanadatta has to learn the magical sciences from Śiva by practising austerities, on a mountain, in the Siddha country. Whilst he is thus occupied five noble Vidyādhara take an oath to marry him all at the same time. (It is the episode which has supplied the name of the Book.)

Gaurimuṇḍa and Mānasavēga attack his army. The former carries off Naravāhanadatta and throws him on a mountain of fire, the latter carries away Gomukha and the other ministers. But these are saved by Dhanavatī who hides them in several places. As for Naravāhanadatta, the Vidyādhara Amṛtaprabha saves him and carries him to the banks of the Mandākinī. There, long mortifications procure for him at length the favour of Śiva who teaches him the magical sciences. King Amitagati whom Śiva wants to make ruler of the Northern portion gives him in marriage his daughter Sulocanā (*tar*, CVII, 1-12; 27-139).

Henceforth, Naravāhanadatta is acknowledged as Emperor by most of

the kings. He insists on his ministers being restored to him. Dhanavati brings them back and, after each one has recounted his own adventures, they all become Vidyādhara like their master (*tar*, CVIII, 1-19 ; 59-96).

The army takes the field and a great battle is fought. Naravāhanadatta kills Gaurimuṇḍa and Mānsavēga in a single fight. He marries Iḥatmatikā, daughter of Gaurimuṇḍa. The next day, Mādanamāncukā is brought back to him. Meanwhile, Mandaradeva, king of the Northern portion remains hostile. After a bath in a miraculous lake, Naravāhanadatta is promised for once and all the imperial dignity and he marches against his last enemy. On the way he falls in love with Vāyuvēgayaṣas, sister of Vāyupatha ; she is one of the five Vidyādhara who had taken an oath to marry him at the same time. They all become his wives. Before going on with the expedition he has still to take possession of the five jewels of the *cakravartin* and for that purpose he goes to the Mount of Govindakūṭa (*tar*, CVIII, 96-209).

Here ends Book XIV. By itself alone, it is more important than all the other as far as regards the history of the hero. That is why we have analysed in detail the 365 verses which it contains. The narrative is so concise, the adventures follow each other so rapidly that very few accessory tales have been able to find a place in it : *Sāvitrī and Angirās* (CV, 22-30) ; *Rama* (CVII, 13-26) ; *Nāgasvāmin and the witches* (CVIII, 20-58). The method of composition is altogether similar to the one we have already noticed in the latter part of Book VI. It is evident that the author purposely condenses as much as he can the history of the hero. He piles up in only one Book the matter of several Books which it would be easy to separate and even to designate by a special name : Vēgavati, Gāndharvadattā, Ajināvatī, Sulocanā, Pañcā, whereas the latter alone has become the name of the whole group. Each episode is interesting enough and would lend itself enough to developments to allow us to surmise that, in the *Bṛhatkathā*, it was much more lengthy. If we compare the account of the battles between Naravāhanadatta's and Gaurimuṇḍa's armies with that of the great fight between the Asuras and the Vidyādhara, which fills up almost four *taramgas* of the VIII Book, the disproportion appears striking. One is as lively and copious as the other is dull and empty. It is as if the accessory parts of the *Bṛhatkathā* had fed on the substance lost by the subject matter.

As for the order in which the matters of the Book XIV are presented it undoubtedly is logical, much more so in this Book than in all the previous ones. The kidnapping of Mādanamāncukā is the initial adventure from which spring all the others. It is to get her back that Naravāhanadatta undertakes his fantastic journeys and his conquests. The day he is reunited to her will be the day of his triumph and of his accession to the throne. One may well ask then : why are the preceding Books so rambling when it was so easy to give them coherence in giving them a place in the cycle

of the XIV Book. We shall, later on, attempt to solve the problem. For the present let us only remember that, in all probability, the XII and XIII Books were originally placed after the carrying off of Madanamañcukā.

15. MAHĀBHIṢEKA (*tars*, CX-CX)

The seven jewels of the cakravartin are in a cave of Mount Malaya, guarded by the hermit Vāmadēva. By Śiva's order, the hermit sends for Naravāhanadatta who takes possession of the jewels. On his return to his camp, on the Mountain of Govindakūṭa, he organizes his last expedition. To reach the northern portion where rules Mandaradeva, he has to go through the Kailāsa. Unfortunately, no one is able to cross Śiva's Mountain. To get to the other side one has to go through the tunnel of Triṣṛṣa which is guarded by King Devamāya. Naravāhanadatta's army forces its way through the entrance but Kālaratī guards the exit. She paralyses the whole army except its leader. He prays to the Goddess and offers to sacrifice his own head to obtain the deliverance of his followers; she declares herself satisfied. On the following day he defeats the van-guard of Mandaradeva's army, which was led by Dhūmaçikha; then, after a long struggle, Mandaradeva himself. The latter is saved by his sister, Mandar-devi, who is anxious to wed the Emperor. He then becomes a hermit (*tar*, CLX, 152v.)

The Emperor reaches Vimala, Mandaradeva's capital, prevents the wives of his vanquished enemy from committing suicide and treats them as his sisters. His ambition has no longer any limit. He dreams of conquering the Meru. The riṣi, Nārada, persuades him not to. Under the influence of wise political principles, his only thought is to establish concord throughout his empire. He goes to visit the holy Akampana, father of Mandaradeva, and marries Mandaradevi with four other Vidyādhari, daughters of his former enemy (a new version of the episode of the five young maids in Book XIV). There is now nothing more to be done but to go through the ceremony of his coronation on Mount Rṣabha. Madanamañcukā alone of all his wives is crowned with him. Finally, the Emperor invites his father, Vāsava-datta, and Padmāvati to come and see him in his glory. A great festival brings together all the heroes of the tale (*tar*, CX, 148 v.)

This Book is the natural sequel of the preceding one. The Epopee of Naravāhanadatta has come to an end, and yet we have still three Books before us.

16. SUBATAMANJARI (*tars*, CXI-CXIII)

Many years have elapsed. The Emperor goes one day to the bank of the Mandākinī to celebrate the spring festival. A bad dream makes him fear for the safety of his father who, long since has returned to Kauçāmbi.

He tries to find out, through the science of Prajñāpti, what is going on in the world of men? Candamahāsena is dead. His wife Angāravatī has performed Sati on his funeral pyre. His eldest son, Gopalaka, anxious not to leave his brother-in-law, Udayana, has made over the kingdom of Ujjayinī to Pālaka. Udayana himself, struck by the instability of sublunary affairs, has made up his mind to get rid of life. Vāsavadattā, Padmāvatī and his ministers have also made up their minds to share his fate. He has made over his kingdom to Gopalaka who, in his desire to follow him, has at first refused, but finally has consented through obedience. Udayana, his wives and ministers have thrown themselves from the summit of the rocks of Mount Kālanjara; a divine chariot had carried them to Heaven. After their death, Gopalaka made over his Kingdom to Pālaka and found a retreat on the Black Mountain, in Kaçyapa's hermitage, among the riṣis. On hearing of his parents' death, Naravāhanadatta has fainted. Wishing, at least, to see once more his uncle Gopalaka he sets out for the Black Mountain with all his court and on the riṣis' invitation spends there the rainy season (*tar*, CXI).

One day, the Commander-in-chief reports to the Emperor that he has just arrested a Vidyādhara, who was carrying a woman away. The ravisher is Ityaka, son of Kalingasena and of Madanavēga (cf. the history of the child's substitution, *tar*, XXXIV). The woman is Suratamanjari, daughter of the Vidyādhara Matangadeva. Ityaka pretends that this woman had been promised him by her mother but she retorts that she is the wife of Avantivardhana, son of Pālaka, King of Ujjayinī and that, during the night the Vidyādhara has taken advantage of her sleep to carry her off, violating thereby every right. An enquiry is decided upon. Avantivardhana, Pālaka, and the minister, Bharatarōhaka, are sent for from Ujjayinī. The latter relates how Avantivardhana was married; on the feast day of the 'Oblation of water', which is kept up every year at Ujjayinī in remembrance of the death of Candamahāsena's father-in-law (The history of the death has also been told in *tar*, XI). Young Avantivardhana saw a young maiden who was taming a furious elephant. It was Suratamanjari, daughter of a matanga Utpalahasta. Despite her impure caste he was anxious to wed her. Utpalahasta insisted on 18,000 Brahmins eating with him. This condition having been complied with, he revealed that he was a fallen Vidyādhara, degraded to the human condition, because, at the instigation of his master, Gaurīmuṇḍa, he had attempted to harm the future Emperor, Naravāhanadatta. The end of the curse had just come; forthwith, he became again the Vidyādhara Matangadeva. The marriage took place, after which Suratamanjari was carried off by Ityaka. The court of justice decided against Ityaka and sent the newly wedded couple back to Ujjayinī (*tar*, CXII).

Accessory tales: *Çūrasena and Susena* (CXI; 24-47); the *Candala who marries the daughter of King Prasenujit* (CXII, 89-108): the *Fisherman*

who married a princess (CXII, 111-115); the Merchant's daughter who fell in love with a robber (CXII, 146-169) all intimately connected with the subject matter.

The last *tar* of the Book is not at all the sequel of the preceding ones. An argument is carried on about the duties of cakravartins. Naravāhanadatta's six predecessors who were Rṣabha, Sarvadamana, Bandhujīvaka, Jīmūtavāhana, Viçvāntara, Tārāvaloka have all lost their throne because they have committed a sin (that of Jīmūtavāhana consisted in having boasted of his own merits), except Tārāvaloka who has abdicated of his own accord in order to become a hermit. The rest of the *tar* is taken up by the edifying story of that Tārāvaloka (CXII, 17-97).

The *tars*, CXI and CXII look, one almost, and the other one altogether, useless. We could understand that the author might wish, as an epilogue, to let us know what has become of the principal heroes of his fantastic poem, but, in that case, what is the use of Avantivardhana's adventures? No doubt it is not the first time that in Naravāhanadatta's story we come across trifling and idle tales, but when we met with them before we were able easily to understand the object he had in view: it was in order to introduce new tales. Avantivardhana's adventures, on the contrary, are lengthy and full of details. It is evident that it has not been invented nor placed here with the mere object of justifying the presence of the three small tales of *tar*, CXII. It is all the more probable that it belongs to the original Bṛhatkathā and that it has always been associated with Naravāhanadatta's visit to the rīṣis that there is less reason to introduce it here. Let us not forget the remark we had made above with regard to the place Book XVI should, in good logic, have occupied. Everything becomes clear if *tars*, CXI and CXII were originally part of the beginning of the Bṛhatkathā. They explain the presence of Naravāhanadatta among the rīṣis to whom he will narrate his story. At first sight, Avantivardhana's adventures do not seem to be so necessary. But let us consider that his uncle Gopalaka lives among the rīṣis, that the enquiry to be made about his affairs requires that all the members of his family and the Vidyādharaś connected with it should meet together. Kaçyapa's hermitage is the most natural place for the court to sit. The trial of Avantivardhana, more than the desire to see Gopalaka once more, is the occasion which gives a proper reason for the stay of the Cakravartin among the rīṣis.

As for Tārāvaloka's story it has nothing to do here as it has no connexion with the rest. It may be either on adventitious matter, susceptible of being put anywhere, or a part of the statement of the duties of a cakravartin and thus meant to be together with the conversation into which it has been brought, an epilogue to the Bṛhatkathā.

17. PADMĀVATĪ (*tars*, CXIV-CXIX)

Questions are put to Naravāhanadatta. How, after the carrying off of Madanmañcukā he has been able to bear being separated from her? Gomukha helped him to wait patiently in telling him a story, that of *Muktāphalakētu*, Emperor of the *Vidyādhara*s and of his wife *Padmāvati* which, inserted in that of *King Brahmadatta and the swans*, takes up the whole Book. It is extremely fantastic but without any special interest. As it is supposed to have been told during the period covered by Book XIV one might ask why it is not found in its chronologically proper place. The explanation, which applies also to the next Book, will be made clear by what follows.

18. VIṢAMAÇILA (*tars*, CXX-CXXIV)

This is another story told to Naravāhanadatta while he was separated from Madanamañcukā. This lengthy tale, including some digressions, belongs to the cycle of legends which centre around the imposing figure of Vikramāditya. There is no need to analyse it here as it is hardly necessary to show that it could not possibly have belonged to the primitive *Bṛhatkathā*. Why? The Vikramāditya of the tales is a personage obscure as to the date, though it is certain that he is placed very far back in the prehistorical past. Yet, it is that same Vikramāditya who is supposed to have driven away the Mlechas and in spite of the tendency of the Hindus to throw him back in the series of time, the beginning of the era, bearing his name, coincides only with 57 B.C.

We may remember that the writers of tales have never considered Vikramāditya as a contemporary of the great heroes of the *Mahābhārata*; those heroes, in the Indian chronology, are placed towards the end of the *dvāpara-yuga*, that is to say, several thousands of centuries before. It would indeed be going far, in fanciful chronology, to suppose that Vikramāditya might have had anything to do with Arjuna! Those two do not belong to the same cycle. Now, what is, in the succession of ages, the place assigned to Naravāhanadatta by the *Kathāsaritsāgara*? His pedigree is traced back thus: Udayana, Catānika, Janamejaya, Parīkṣit, a great grand son of Abhimanyu who, himself, is according to the *Kathāsaritsāgara* a descendant and, according to the *Mahābhārata*, a son of Arjuna. In any case, according to the legend, the number of generations between Arjuna and Udayana could not have been very great. One must confess that, in his fanciful chronology, the author seems to have been anxious to preserve a semblance of truth. Starting from Arjuna he makes Udayana live at about the same time as Buddha. As a matter of fact, from other documents; we know that Udayana was supposed to have been born on the same day as Buddha. All this hangs very well together but, then, what can be said of the same

author who makes a hermit narrate to Naravāhanadatta a story about Vikramāditya? Gunādhyā was not capable of perpetrating such an anachronism.

Somadeva himself gives the Book as an Appendix, because he considers it as foreign to the *Bṛhatkathā* and fears to upset its plan too much, if he had inserted it elsewhere, among the numerous tales the hero has to listen to.

At the same time, the preamble gives us a proof that in the Cashmerian original the Book was embodied in the Poem. The narrator is the holy Kaṇva. The circumstances which are the pretext of introducing the tale are worthy of notice: 'I wished to die, says Naravāhanadatta, as I was away from my beloved one and travelling in a foreign country. In the heart of the forests I met, during my wanderings, with the great Muni Kaṇva, But, if we are to believe the rest of the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, Naravāhanadatta has never been a wanderer in a foreign country, in the forests, after the kidnapping of Madanamañcukā. We always find him in congenial company, with some new wife and never a wanderer. We have here an indication that this Book, like several of those from the VII to the XIII, which picture him as journeying and having lost his way, must have been placed after the beginning of Book XIV.¹ Kaṇva inspired him with courage and hope as acknowledged by Naravāhanadatta, 'Wives, says he, sciences, sovereignty over the Vidyādhara, I became possessed of one after the other'.² The conclusion is that, when he was wandering and separated from his first wife, he had nothing or almost nothing of all that! This particular detail is in clear contradiction with the data of the *Kathāsaritsāgara*. When the author relates the carrying off of Madanamañcukā, Naravāhanadatta has already twelve wives, among whom five Vidyādhara and four daughters of Apsaras given to him by Viṣṇu. If he has not yet become a semi-divine being, he is no longer a mere man. My conclusion is that in the first account of his story the carrying off of Madanamañcukā was placed at the beginning of his adventures. This conclusion had already been suggested to us by the study of Books XII, XIII and XIV.

I have had in the course of this critical analysis to lay stress on the defects of composition and on the essential improbabilities found in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*. Later on, we shall have to weigh carefully the responsibility of Somadeva and that of the Cashmerian *Bṛhatkathā*, respectively. But already we have seen enough to conclude that in most cases it is the latter which is to blame. The model imitated by Somadeva was altogether full of incoherences. Had we no other version than the *Kathāsaritsāgara* it would undoubtedly be difficult to say whether Somadeva has exactly reproduced the plan of his original, but, even in that case, it would not be impossible to conclude that the Cashmerian *Bṛhatkathā* could not be the *Bṛhatkathā* of

¹ K.S.S., CXX, 5.

² K.S.S., CXXIV, 244.

Guṇāḍhya. I will even go further: it would not be impossible to reconstitute Guṇāḍhya's work, at least to a certain extent. It is important to lay stress on this point as, up to now, the mistake has been made and Guṇāḍhya has been considered responsible for everything that is found in the Kathāsaritsāgara.

For the present, we will not draw any conclusion as to the composition of the original Bṛhatkathā. Before doing so, we must attempt to reconstitute the Cashmerian Bṛhatkathā and to study its plan.



N.V.
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